WHY EUROPE VOTES

HAROLD F. GOSNELL

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PREFACE

The active minority which leads the fight for suffrage reform usually fails to see that its struggle for democracy has just begun with the broadening of the franchise. The great masses are helpless in politics if they have not been organized. Voting is a mechanical process which is not self-executing. In the days when bullets instead of ballots were used to decide political questions, the opposing parties were compelled by the force of circumstances to defend themselves. The struggle for power by means of the ballot box has come to be a comparatively tame affair in modern days. The part which the individual citizen plays in this struggle is not a dramatic one, and it is likely to be slighted if it is not brought forcibly to his attention. What are the forces which bring the modern voter to the polls upon election day? The newspapers, the civic associations, the public officials, and the party organizations are all active agencies which direct the attention of the voters to this task. The way in which these agencies do their work has much to do with the success of the democratic experiment.

In the United States the widening of the suffrage franchise has gone hand in hand with the development of party organizations based upon spoils. The American citizens have waited to be coaxed to the polls upon election day. Those who have been most interested in doing this coaxing have been the politicians seeking special favors from the government. The lawmakers in this country

have paid little attention to many important details of the election process. It has been assumed that the sovereign voters would perform their functions without any special direction. The electoral mechanism instead of becoming simpler has become more complex. The spoils politicians with axes of their own to grind have operated the American electoral system from behind the scenes. Beginning with small successes in local and primary elections, they have built up vast machines for holding the voters into line. These machines for getting out the vote have been manned by partisan henchmen who have been paid out of the public treasury. The adoption of the merit system in public personnel administration has lessened this practice to a certain extent, but the great mass of state and local positions are still regarded as the spoils of party victory. The low tone of political life in America has brought with it a widespread feeling of disillusionment regarding political action. There is a lack of faith in the honesty of men in politics and a general cynicism about political methods. Such attitudes as these have led many to assume an air of indifference toward elections.

Shortly following the Great War, indifference toward voting seemed to be on the increase in the United States. There was a reaction against government interference in business. The economic prosperity which came to this country turned attention away from the slow and involved processes of political action. If wages were high and employment was fairly steady, why was it necessary to seek the aid of the government? The political leaders tried to avoid anything that might distract business and to discourage any manifestation of discontent. They were

aided in this by the skilful press agents of the new leaders of industry.

In the democratic countries of Western and Central Europe, popular interest in elections has not shown any general decline in the post-war period. It is the purpose of the present study to analyze the various factors that have kept political attention at a fairly high level in Great Britain, France, Germany, Belgium, and Switzerland, and to see to what extent European experience can be applied to American conditions.

The European scene since the Great War has been considerably different from the American scene. Great Britain, France, Belgium, and Germany have all been through severe economic crises. General strikes or threats of general strikes, inflation and stabilization, dislocation of industries and unemployment, and the loss of old foreign markets and severe competition in new markets have kept the people of these countries in a disturbed economic state. The discontented groups have turned to their governments for aid. The governments of Great Britain, France, Belgium, and the new Germany are all based upon the British parliamentary system with a high degree of centralization as compared with the American government. The party or coalition of party groups which controlled the national legislature had far-reaching powers over the economic and social life of the country concerned. It was therefore natural that in times of economic stress the voters would turn to government and expect it to do things. The constant pressure on the government exercised by different economic groups is one of the factors that has kept interest in politics and elections at a high level in these countries.

Political parties have furnished one of the means by which the economic groups have attempted to influence the course of governmental action. In the European countries studied there are a great variety of party systems, each of which makes some claim for the support of the voters. Instead of the classless two-party system which has been characteristic of American political history there is a multiplicity of parties. There are labor parties, peasants' parties, Catholic parties, Protestant parties, middle-class parties, conservative parties, racial parties, monarchist parties, and republican parties. Each of these parties has a type of organization which is fitted to its constituency. Some of the European parties do not have as elaborate machinery as that of the two major parties in the United States, but as a rule their roots go down deeper into the social and economic life of the people. The political issues are more vital, and it is easier to obtain volunteer workers to aid in the work of bringing the voters to the polls.

The intensity of the party struggle has led European lawmakers to give careful consideration to the details of the election process. In the countries studied steps have been taken to see that the eligible voters are properly listed and summoned to their task on election day. During the past fifty years a great many electoral experiments have been made in these countries. The three-class system of representation, open voting and secret voting, the majority system of representation and proportional representation, single-member-district voting and block voting, plural voting and compulsory voting, are among the more important legal devices that have been tried. In some of the countries studied it has been possible to meas-

ure the influence of a given device upon the size of the vote cast in relation to the number of eligible electors. Thus, in Switzerland where suffrage conditions remained the same during the period under discussion, the change from a majority to a proportional system of representation affords an opportunity to observe the relation of these two systems of representation to popular interest in voting. It has not always been possible to isolate factors so clearly, but quantitative methods have been used extensively in the present study. The elaborate statistical records kept of European elections facilitate this type of analysis.

Most of the material for the present study was gathered by the author when he was a Research Fellow of the Social Science Research Council, to which organization he wishes to make due acknowledgment. While in London, Liverpool, Birmingham, Paris, Nice, Berlin, Munich, Brussels, Geneva, Bern, and in the many other cities visited, the author received invaluable assistance from members of legislative bodies, administrative officials in charge of elections, party secretaries, newspaper writers, candidates for public office, university professors, librarians, students, and others. Many of the tables given in this book are based upon days of labor on the part of public officials. Without their co-operation, the present study could not have been made. Professor Frederic A. Ogg, editor of the *American Political Science Review*, has kindly permitted the use of material on Swiss National Council elections which appeared in that magazine. The completion of this study was greatly aided by a grant from the Local Community Research Committee of the

University of Chicago. The author wishes to gratefully acknowledge this assistance.

For criticism of the manuscript I am indebted to my colleagues, Professors Charles E. Merriam, Carroll H. Wooddy, and Harold D. Lasswell. My wife has helped me at various stages in this study. For all statements of fact or opinion the author alone is responsible.

HAROLD F. GOSNELL

May, 1930

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CHAPTER I[1]

BRITISH PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS

One characteristic of the British which has impressed foreign observers is a tendency to attach considerable importance to political methods.[2] The British have worked out a system of government in which the legislature possesses vast powers, and they have developed a group of honest and able leaders to exercise these powers. In contrast with the American system of government with its constitutional limitations, separation of powers, division of responsibility, and judicial review, the British system of parliamentary government concentrates legislative and administrative leadership in the prime minister and the Cabinet officers, who owe their selection primarily to the House of Commons. Since the defeat of the Cabinet by the House on a major issue means a change of ministry, great pressure is brought to bear upon members of the party in power to sacrifice individual opinions in order that their leaders may be kept in power. Who these leaders shall be and what policies they shall adopt are matters of great significance to the British voters. The defense and maintenance of a vast empire, the regulation of wages and prices at home, the winning of new markets, the adoption of a new prayer-book for the Anglican church, the

[1] See my article, "Die Volksbeteiligung bei den englischen Wahlen," *Zeitschrift für Politik,* XVI, 242–56.

[2] J. M. Gaus, *Great Britain: A Study of Civic Loyalty* (Chicago, 1929).

granting of subventions to certain industries, the building of roads and bridges, the solution of the unemployment question, and the encouragement of agriculture are all matters which have come before Parliament. There are no legal limitations to the matters that might be brought up for consideration. Economic pressure and the stress of hard times have been extending the sphere of governmental activity rapidly in Great Britain.

During the interval between the parliamentary election of December, 1910, and that of May, 1929, the electoral system of Great Britain underwent several profound changes.[3] The Parliamentary Act of 1911 by greatly curtailing the powers of the House of Lords made the elective House of Commons the organ which for all practical purposes exercised the vast legislative powers vested in the central government of the kingdom. The practices pursued in connection with the conduct of the Great War disrupted the traditional party organizations and conferred new and far-reaching powers upon the executive. Besides this, the Representation of the People Act of 1918 nearly tripled the size of the electorate by simplifying the requirements for male voters and by extending the suffrage to women thirty years of age and over who qualified as occupants. Four elections were held under this Act. Finally, in 1928 the suffrage was extended to women on the same terms as the men. In interpreting popular participation in English elections before and after the war, these fundamental changes should be kept in mind.

[3] A. Siegfried, *Post War Britain* (London, 1924); E. M. Sait and D. F. Barrows, *British Politics in Transition* (Yonkers, 1925); F. A. Ogg, *English Government and Politics* (New York, 1929).

Prior to the Reform Act of 1918 suffrage qualifications were so complicated in England that it was difficult to determine the number of qualified voters. There were no government officials who were responsible for the completeness of the registers of voters, but registration was a matter which was left largely to the party agents.[4] Each year the overseers published a list of the qualified householders and occupiers as the first step in the formation of the register. Once the claim of freeholders, copyholders, and leaseholders was accepted, they did not have to renew their claim, but lodgers had to make an annual claim in order to keep on the registers. Claims and objections were heard and passed upon by the revising barristers in the presence of the party agents. This method of compiling the lists did not secure accuracy or completeness. The Act of 1918 entirely changed the procedure for registration.[5] The duty of making up the lists of voters was laid upon a registration officer who in towns is the town clerk. Once a year he sends around canvassers who make a house-to-house check upon all who are eligible to vote. The party agents still bring claims before the registration officers but the lists are more complete than they were before the war.

In Great Britain it is difficult to ascertain the actual size of the vote cast as well as the number of eligible electors. In general, the members of the House of Commons

[4] E. T. Powell, *The Essentials of Self Government* (London, 1909).

[5] J. R. Seager, *Registration for Voters under the Reform Act* (1918); A. S. Wright and E. H. Singleton, *Organization and Administration of the Town Clerk's Department* (London, 1925), chap. iv.

are elected by the single-member-district plurality system, under which each voter chooses a single candidate and the candidate having the highest number of votes is declared elected. However, before the war there were twenty-six constituencies returning two members. The Reform Act of 1918 reduced these "double-barreled" constituencies to fifteen in number. In these constituencies, each voter was allowed to vote for two candidates. Most of the voters usually exercised two choices, but not all of them did. Consequently, it is possible only to estimate the number of voters except where detailed returns are furnished by the town clerks. Another problem which must be met in handling English election statistics is the non-contested constituency. If only one candidate files nomination papers in a constituency, he is declared elected without a poll. In the tables that follow the number of electors in non-contested constituencies is always subtracted from the total number of electors, and the vote cast in the double-membered constituencies is divided by 2 except where complete returns are available.

It is convenient to begin the analysis of popular interest in British elections by discussing Table I, which shows the per cent of the registered vote cast in contested constituencies at each general parliamentary election since 1895.

A glance at the table seems to show that popular interest in British elections was relatively greater under the old electoral system than it is under the present one. It might be supposed that the new electorate has not become fully accustomed to its duties. On the other hand, there is little question that the registers have been more complete since the Reform Act of 1918, and it is likely that

they contain the names of indifferent electors who would have been left off under the old régime. Under both systems it is clear that there was considerable variation in the size of the poll as between different elections. Some of

TABLE I

POPULAR PARTICIPATION IN BRITISH PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS, 1895–1929

Year	Total Electorate in Contested Constituencies*	Total Vote Cast†	Per Cent
1895	4,577,347	3,576,600	78.0
1900	4,378,432	3,258,600	74.4
1906	6,341,508	5,270,700	83.3
1910 (Jan.)	7,202,319	6,237,400	85.6
1910 (Dec.)	6,018,868	4,876,500	81.0
1918	18,307,404	10,468,000	57.6
1922	19,180,969	13,691,300	71.3
1923	19,619,988	13,880,500	70.8
1924	20,649,694	15,951,628	76.6
1929	28,515,443	21,694,100	76.1

* Figures from the *Constitutional Yearbook* (1911, 1915, 1925, and 1930).

† *British Parliamentary Papers*, LXVII (1896), 145: Return .... Election, 1895; *ibid.*, LIX (1901), 352: Return .... Election,1906; *ibid.*, XCVI (1906), 302: Return .... Election, 1906; *ibid.*, LXXIII (1910), 299: Return .... Election, January, 1910; *ibid.*, LXII (1911), 272: Return .... Election, December, 1910; *ibid.*, 1919, Parliamentary and Local Government Electors, October 15, 1919; *ibid.*, XVIII (1924), 681: Return .... Election, 1922; *ibid.*, 775: Return .... Election, 1923; *ibid.*, XXII (1926), 523: Return .... Election, 1924. The *Times* (London), *House of Commons* (1929), gives the figures for the 1929 election. It is practically impossible to find the exact number of persons who voted. All the published statistics give the number of votes received by the various candidates. These figures make no allowance for the fact that each voter has two votes in the undivided double-barreled constituencies. In the figures given, allowances are made for this fact. In compiling the tables in this article, the writer had the able assistance of Mr. R. F. George, a graduate student in the London School of Economics.

the factors influencing these variations will next be considered.

In 1895 the Liberal ministry, paralyzed by the resistance of the House of Lords, maintained a narrow majority in the House of Commons at the sufferance of many heterogeneous elements such as the Irish Catholics and the Welsh dissenters. When it was placed in a minority

by the absence of some of its supporters, it resigned. Lord Salisbury then formed a conservative cabinet and called for a dissolution. The principal issues in the election campaign that followed were the annihilation of the House of Lords, Home Rule for Ireland, and the Liberal administrative policy. The issue on the House of Lords was not as clearly drawn as it was to be later, and the Liberals waged a listless campaign on account of lack of funds and available candidates.[6] While the electoral margin between the Ministerialists and the Opposition was a narrow one, the Conservatives won a striking parliamentary victory.

In 1900 the Conservative ministry took advantage of the patriotic fervor aroused by the Boer War to dissolve the House and request the support of the voters for a firm policy in South Africa. The poll at the "Khaki election of 1900" was 4 per cent less than at the election in 1895. The Liberals were taken at a disadvantage in this election. Many of them preferred not to vote rather than to vote against a government which was in the midst of conducting a war.[7] The Conservative leaders had to urge their followers not to consider the result certain. As it was, the Conservatives polled 53 per cent of the votes cast in the entire kingdom exclusive of Ireland.[8]

The election of 1906 was characterized by contempo-

[6] *Annual Register* (1895), p. 153.

[7] Powell, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

[8] *Annual Register* (1900), p. 209. Proceeding in the case of an uncontested election on the basis of the figures at the last previous contest and in double constituencies taking the highest poll given on either side and treating Labour and Socialist votes as Liberal votes, the following results were obtained: Unionist 2,360,852 and Liberal 2,055,952 (Ireland omitted).

raries as the "most exciting and startling since 1880."[9] It turned largely on the tariff issue. A majority of the Conservatives, following the program of Joseph Chamberlain, advocated duties on foodstuffs and manufactured products. The Liberals defended the traditional British policy of free trade and used as one of their election cries "dear loaf."[10] Among the minor issues of the campaign were the Unionists' reckless extravagance, the introduction into the Transvaal of "Chinese slavery," the endowment of denominational education under the Act of 1902, and the Taff Vale decision, which greatly hampered the operations of the trade-unions. Special appeals were made to the voters by the various interested groups through the churches, the newspapers, the signboards, and other agencies. Among the results of this agitation was an 83.3 per cent poll of the electorate.

The rejection of the Lloyd George budget in 1909 by the House of Lords precipitated the general election of January, 1910. For three centuries the Lords had not exercised their veto on financial matters. The chief issues at this election were the financial measures and the powers of the House of Lords. As an alternative to the Liberal budget with its new land tax and increased liquor, income and inheritance taxes, the Unionists offered a plan for tariff reform with duties on imported foodstuffs. The contest was carried on with unexampled vigor and variety of resource. The number of speeches was unparalleled, and the amount of the expenditures exceeded that of any pre-

[9] *Annual Register* (1906), p. 1.

[10] P. G. Cambray, *Politics Retold* (London, 1925), p. 99.

vious campaign.[11] Organizations, such as the Tariff Reform League, the Free Trade Union, and a multitude of others contributed lavish amounts which were outside of the expenditures authorized for candidates by law. The result of these activities was the highest poll attained in the period under discussion. Over 85 per cent of the electorate took part in the contest. The Liberal majority was greatly reduced by this election, but the Asquith government managed to stay in power by co-operating with the Labour and Nationalist groups.

The finance bill was passed by the new Parliament but the Liberals were not satisfied. They demanded an equality of legislative opportunity with the Unionists, and to this end they proposed a drastic curtailment of the powers of the House of Lords. When several conferences on the question brought no solution, the issue was taken to the electorate in December, 1910. The Conservatives proposed as an alternative scheme that deadlocks be settled by a joint session of the two houses and that important questions be referred to the people by means of a national referendum. This election was more quietly conducted than its predecessor.[12] However, there was a multitude of speeches and the shops were again decorated with posters. Interest in politics was still high as 81 per cent of the electorate in contested constituencies came out to vote. The election did not change the relative position of the parties in any material respect.

Eight years intervened before the next general election

[11] S. Brooks, "The British Elections," *North American Review*, March, 1910, pp. 410 ff.

[12] *Annual Register* (1910), p. 249.

in Great Britain. The war dealt a heavy blow to the economic life of the country. Tons of shipping had been destroyed, a vast amount of capital had been consumed, and many old markets were lost. The political significance of these changes was not clear immediately. The first summoning of the new electorate did not come under very propitious circumstances. Profiting from the disorganization of his adversaries and the glamor of the victory, Lloyd George had seized upon the month following the Armistice to make an appeal to the voters, millions of whom had never voted before. Few clear issues were presented to the voters, and the confusion was rendered more complete by the use of the demogogic slogan, "Hang the Kaiser and make the Boches pay." There were still four million men under the colors, only 30 per cent of whom actually complied with the provisions of the absent-elector law.[13] From an 81 per cent poll in December, 1910, the poll dropped to 57 per cent of the electorate. While the Lloyd George coalition received only 48 per cent of all the votes cast, it secured an enormous parliamentary majority.

The new coalition government established by Lloyd George in 1919 was more Conservative than Liberal in its base. A number of the Conservative members, the so-called "die-hard Tories," chafed under its discipline because they wanted a government of their own. In October, 1922, the withdrawal from the coalition of the Conservatives led by Bonar Law precipitated a new election. The principal issue presented at this election was whether or not the country should abandon the policy of

[13] "Democracy at the Poll," *Nation* (London, 1919), XXIV, 396–97.

coalition governments and return to the former system of party alignments. Rejected by the ancient party organizations, Lloyd George denounced the spirit of party strife and formed an electoral organization of his own called the National Liberal party. Encouraged by the gains made in 1918 and helped by the unemployment conditions, the Labour party leaders again stressed their program for a capital levy and industrial reform. The issues were much more vital than they had been in the confused election of 1918, and partly as a result of this there was a 71 per cent poll. Although having only a minority of the voters behind him,[14] Bonar Law secured a huge parliamentary majority, thanks to the vagaries of the single-member-district system of representation in the presence of three separate parties.

Had Bonar Law not been compelled to resign on account of ill health, the chances of there being a general election in 1923 would have been meager. However, his successor, Stanley Baldwin, made an appeal to the country in December, 1923, on the issue of protectionism as a solution of the problem of unemployment. The two wings of the Liberal party united in defense of the traditional British policy of free trade, forgetting for the moment their recent animosities. Although Baldwin's protectionism did not include agricultural products, his opponents, Liberal and Labour alike, made much of the cry "dear food." In the main, however, the Labour leaders stressed their traditional policies of the capital levy, nationalization of the mines, and peace abroad. The relative electoral strength of the three parties was about the same

[14] See Appendix, p. 213.

at this election as it had been in 1922.[15] However, the parliamentary situation was entirely changed, the Conservative majority having been completely wiped out. The British electors, loyal to their institutions, accepted this absurd result of their election system without any great outcry, just as they had accepted the result of the 1922 election.

The first Labour government headed by Ramsay MacDonald possessed only a minority of the seats in the House of Commons and represented only a minority of the voters. Since the continuance of this government depended upon the sufferance of the Liberals, its life was at best a precarious one. When it did fall upon a trivial issue in the fall of 1924[16] the Conservative party was ready to meet the situation. It claimed that it and it alone could be a bulwark against socialism. The parliamentary policy of the Liberals and the fact that they had not put up as many candidates as usual left them in a weakened position. The platforms of the two extreme parties were sharply contrasted, and the new British electorate was stirred as it had not been since the war. Exactly 77 per cent of the registered voters in contested constituencies took part in the election. The unusually large Conservative vote can be accounted for on the following grounds: the adherence of many Liberals to Conservative candidates, the great decrease in the usual number of non-contested Conservative constituencies, and the extraordinary

[15] See chart on page 20.

[16] An indirect vote of censure on the "Campbell case." Campbell was a communist editor whose trial for sedition was dropped by the Labour government (see *Annual Register* [1924], p. 96).

inroads which the Conservative election managers made into the great body of non-voters. The Labour party increased its electoral strength at the cost of the Liberals, in spite of the fact that it lost some of its parliamentary seats.

The Conservative government established as a result of the elections of 1924 lasted more than four years. After the conclusion of the general strike in 1926, there was some demand among Conservative organizers for a new election, but Mr. Baldwin, the prime minister, decided to wait until 1929. In the meantime the suffrage act was amended so as to include five million new women voters between the ages of twenty-one and thirty. While the election was anticipated with great interest, the campaign was not an exciting one. The Conservative party slogan of "Safety First" did not suggest a far-reaching program. The Conservative leaders pointed to the passage of the contributory pensions scheme for widows, orphans, and old people; to their work on the reform of local government; and to measures they had taken to aid industry. The Labour party adopted a program of studied moderation which laid emphasis upon world-peace, disarmament, and a more energetic handling of the problem of unemployment. The Liberal party, led by Lloyd George, made a valiant effort to regain some of the ground which it had lost in the post-war period. The outstanding feature of the Liberal program was the explicit pledge given by Lloyd George that, if the Liberals were given power, unemployment would be reduced to normal proportions within one year without the addition of a penny to the burden of taxation. Extensive tours were made of the

country by the leading candidates, but no dramatic incidents occurred like the Zinovieff affair which spurred many voters to action in 1924.

In spite of the increased size of the electorate and the apparent mildness of the campaign, the per cent of the registered vote cast in contested constituencies was about the same in 1929 as in 1924 (over 75 per cent). There are several grounds on which this result may be explained. As far as can be ascertained, the young women electors (the "flapper voters") showed the same interest in voting as did the rest of the electors.[17] The general interest in the election was high because of the unprecedented number of candidates and of three-cornered contests.[18] The Conservative and Liberal candidates were well financed, and what the Labour candidates lacked in money they made up for in the volunteer services of their friends. While the Liberal party increased the size of its popular vote, it won only a dozen seats more than it had in 1924. In absolute numbers, the Labour party made the most important advances in votes and in seats at this election. The drastic trade-union legislation enacted in 1927 left organized labor in a defiant mood. The seriousness of the industrial crisis in Great Britain brought many voters to the polls to register a protest against the Conservative administration.

[17]My colleague, Dr. R. L. Mott, found that the Pearsonian coefficient of correlation between the decline in per cent of the registered vote cast in each constituency and the per cent that the new voters were of the total electorate in each constituency was —.07 or practically zero.

[18]There were 1730 candidates and 470 three-cornered contests. Only six seats were not contested.

The character of the British system of representation does not favor a high participation in every election district. In those constituencies in which one party is sure of victory, many electors regard voting as useless. In such districts the campaign is a quiet one when the seat is contested. It has already been indicated that there are

TABLE II

POPULAR PARTICIPATION IN BRITISH PARLIAMENTARY CONSTITUENCIES CLASSIFIED BY CLOSENESS OF CONTEST, 1924

Per Cent of Total Vote Cast Received by Leading Candidate	Number of Electors	Number of Votes Recorded	Per Cent
30–39.9	934,426	775,801	83.02
40–49.9	3,767,901	2,981,269	79.12
50–59.9	10,788,263	8,539,111	79.25
60–69.9	2,809,083	2,046,605	72.86
70–79.9	1,743,561	1,229,224	70.50
80–89.9	332,660	201,228	60.5
90–100.0	273,780	178,390	65.2
Uncontested	1,077,648	.....	.....
Total contested	20,649,694	15,951,628	76.6

a large number of non-contested districts at each general election. The single-member-district system of representation discourages voting in one-party districts. A statistical measure of the influence of this defect in the representative system upon the size of the poll in contested districts at the 1924 election is given in Table II.

This table indicates clearly that under a plurality system such as the British system the closer the contest the greater is the interest in the election. The highest amount of interest was shown in those constituencies where the winning candidate did not receive 40 per cent of the total

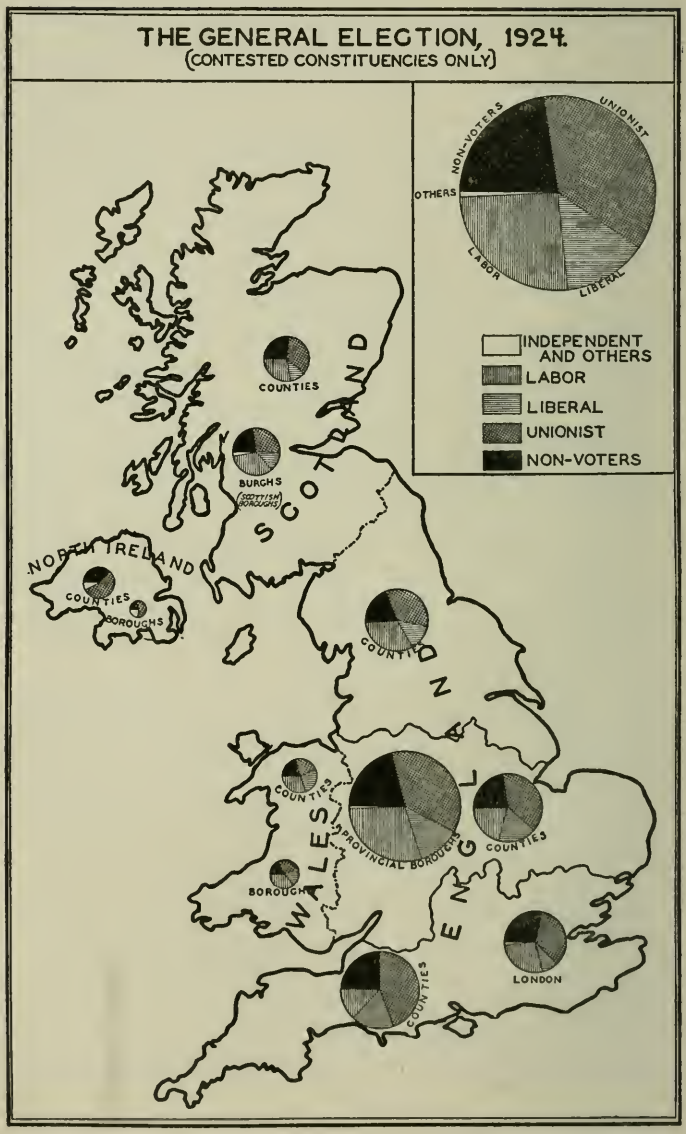
vote cast. These were the constituencies where there were three parties in the field and the balance between the three candidates was a close one. Where the winning majorities were over 60 per cent there was considerably less interest in voting. In this latter group are the Conservative districts of the South that have gone "blue" ever since 1885[19] and a few mining and urban constituencies which have been carried by the Labour party in every election since 1918.[20] One might say that the existence of non-voting in these constituencies is a matter of little interest. However, it is significant that these electoral abstentions grow out of the single-member-district system of representation and that the national party organizations have made concerted efforts to counteract the influence of this factor in order to swell their national totals. The relatively high polls in the elections of 1924 and 1929 were the result of the efficiency of the party organizations, which compensated for some of the errors in the system of representation.

Some of the other obstacles which the British party managers have to meet in arousing interest in elections are brought out by a geographical grouping of the constituencies. On the following page is a chart which gives the voting record in 1924 of the urban and rural areas of England, Scotland, and Wales.

The highest voting records were found in the English

[19] E. Krehbiel, "Geographic Influences in British Elections," *Geographical Review,* II (December, 1916), 419–32, and analysis made by one of my students, Mr. Everett Claspy.

[20] For the 1924 election see G. Morrell, "The Triumph of Conservatism in the Memorable Election," *Graphic,* November 8, 1924.


THE GENERAL ELECTION, 1924.
(CONTESTED CONSTITUENCIES ONLY)
NON-VOTERS
UNIONIST
OTHERS
LABOR
LIBERAL
INDEPENDENT AND OTHERS
LABOR
LIBERAL
UNIONIST
NON-VOTERS
COUNTIES
BURGHS
(SCOTTISH BOROUGHS)
SCOTLAND
NORTH IRELAND
COUNTIES
BOROUGHS
COUNTIES
ENGLAND
COUNTIES
PROVINCIAL BOROUGHS
COUNTIES
WALES
BOROUGH
COUNTIES
LONDON

provincial boroughs, the Northern English counties, and in the Welsh counties and boroughs. These regions are all within the territory most hotly contested by the Labour party. The voters in these regions are among those most adversely affected by the post-war industrial depression in Great Britain. The lower voting records of some of the groups given above suggest the presence of peculiar voting problems. The poll was relatively low in the Scottish counties because of the physical difficulties involved in voting in the mountainous regions of this section. In the especially rugged constituency of Western Isles Division there was only a 40 per cent poll in 1924. The lack of civic interest in the London boroughs may be explained on a number of grounds. There were many transient persons in London enfranchised by the Act of 1918 who had no sense of attachment either to their borough or to their county.[21] In addition the parliamentary boroughs of London contained many business-premises votes which were distributed in constituencies where their possessors did not feel the need of using them. A separate analysis showed that only 69 per cent of the enrolled vote was cast in constituencies having a thousand or more business-premises votes.[22]

The testimony of a representative number of party agents, parliamentary candidates, and political workers[23]

[21] See Ministry of Labour, *Report on Workplaces* (1925), regarding mobility of the London population.

[22] The figures for this calculation were obtained from the office of the Registrar-General. There were 211,361 persons entitled to business-premises votes in 1924.

[23] Some 75 party agents, parliamentary candidates, and party workers were personally interviewed by the writer in 1925.

shows that the general causes of political indifference in Great Britain are about the same as in other industrial countries having a broad suffrage franchise.[24] As in the United States, a certain proportion of the newly enfranchised women have failed to take advantage of their right to vote.[25] Among the electors of both sexes general indifference was very common. As one party agent put it, "Sport, the cinema, the theatres, dancing and whist drives, not to mention the increased habit of travel, all tend to restrict the time that was available for political thought and study." Such well-known causes of non-voting as illness, absence, poor voting facilities, and disgust with politics were also encountered.[26] Hard times and unemployment produced a cause for electoral abstentions which would not be common in the United States, namely, lack of proper clothing to go to the polls. The party managers in Great Britain are combating all of these general causes for the partial functioning of universal adult

[24] See below, pp. 66, 94, and also C. E. Merriam and H. F. Gosnell, *Non-voting: Causes and Methods of Control* (Chicago, 1924) and my *Getting Out the Vote* (Chicago, 1927).

[25] There were 10,719,922 men and 8,086,920 women on the registers of England and Wales for 1924. No official records are kept in Great Britain showing the number of women voters, but an unofficial check made on the basis of "tickers' sheets" furnished to the writer by party agents showed that in three typical polling districts 10 per cent less of the women electors than of the men electors voted in 1924.

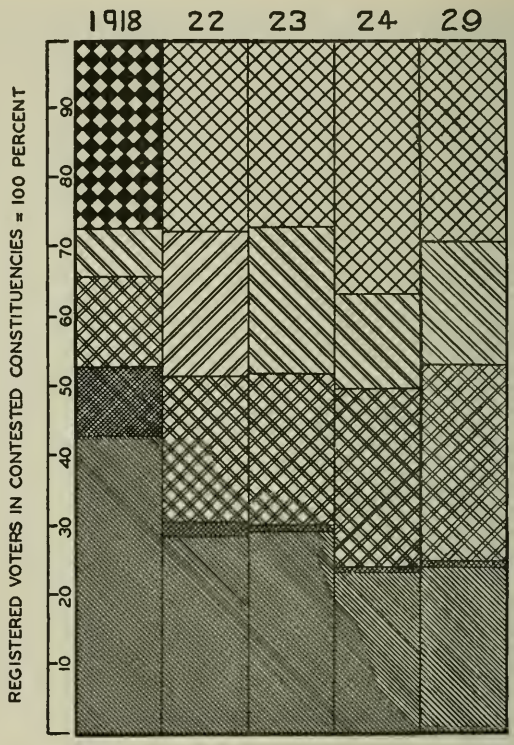
[26] A suggestive analysis furnished by one party agent was: (1) defective registers, (2) old age, (3) sickness, (4) confinement, (5) indifference, (6) fear of abuse at polls, (7) absence, (8) duplications upon registers.

suffrage.[27] The success that they have so far achieved is shown by the fact that over 75 per cent of the voters took part in the elections of 1924 and 1929.

One of the causes of the high poll achieved in the 1924 and 1929 elections was the interest engendered in politics among all classes by the rapid rise of the Labour party since the war. The growth of this party in relation to the other parties and the number of non-voters is shown in the chart on the following page. Unlike the socialist parties in France and Germany, the British Labour party is directly connected with the British trade-union movement, which claimed a membership of nearly five million in 1928. It is supported by a levy upon trade-union members, and its congresses are made up for the most part of representatives of the trade-unions.[28] It is also in close touch with the co-operative societies. The reform acts of 1918 and 1928 and the disorganization of the Liberals gave the party its opportunity. It steadily increased its electoral strength until in 1929 it polled about 8,050,000 votes, or 37.1 per cent of the total vote cast. The industrial character of the party is shown by the fact that at this election it did not carry a single predominantly rural constituency. In the last two elections more of the electors were aroused than at the preceding elections

[27] A. W. Tilby, "Non-Voter," *Outlook* (London), December 8, 1923, pp. 411–12.

[28] In the conference of 1928, there were about 1,000 delegates possessing in the aggregate 3,500 votes (one vote for each 971 members or fraction thereof paid for). The 600 trade-union delegates possessed 3,100 votes (see The Labour Party, *Twenty-eighth Annual Report* [1928]).



COALITION
UNIONIST
LIBERAL
NATIONAL LIBERAL.
LABOUR
OTHERS
NON-VOTERS

where the issue of a Labour government was not so clearly presented. Another proof of the power of the same factor is given in Table III, which shows the percentage of electors voting in constituencies where there was a Labour candidate in 1924 as compared with that in constituencies where there was none.

It is clear from the table that the presence of a Labour candidate in a constituency made an average increase of nearly 5 per cent in the size of the poll. If only those

TABLE III

POPULAR PARTICIPATION IN BRITISH PARLIAMENTARY CONSTITUENCIES CLASSIFIED BY PRESENCE OF LABOUR CANDIDATES, 1924

Constituencies	Total Electorate in Contested Constituencies	Total Vote Cast	Per Cent
In which there was a Labour candidate in 1924.	18,211,084	14,038,587	79.0
In which there was no Labour candidate in 1924.	2,442,657	1,815,691	74.3

constituencies were taken in which the Labour candidate had a fighting chance of winning, the difference would be much greater. The Labour party leaders deliberately put up candidates in constituencies where they knew they had little chance of winning in order to carry on propaganda and to keep prominent opponents busily engaged in defending themselves in their own constituencies so that they could not make extensive speaking tours.

The mining group is the largest single element in the Labour party at the present time.[29] If reference is made

[29] In the 1928 Conference the Miner's Federation polled 800 out of a total of 3,500 votes. In 1929, however, it polled only 400 out of a total of 2,437 votes.

to the map above it will be seen that the poll in Welsh boroughs was higher than in the rest of the country. The leading industry in these boroughs is the mining industry.[30] Party agents and parliamentary candidates in these districts testify as to the general interest in politics manifested in them. The mining constituencies in the Midlands and in Scotland are likewise highly organized. The miners have had their own members of Parliament for many years, but within recent years political issues have become of greater importance to them because of serious maladjustments in the British mining industry since the war.[31] The disastrous coal strike of 1926 has left the miners in an embittered mood. Many of their troubles they blame to political mismanagement.

The fight which the miners have been waging to maintain their standard of living has been reflected clearly in the huge polls obtained in the trade-union votings. Ninety-nine per cent of the membership of the Miner's Federation took part in the voting on the government proposals of 1919 recommending a reduction in hours and an increase in wages.[32] While the other questions voted upon since 1918 did not elicit such enormous interest, some of the pollings were high as compared with political pollings. However, it is difficult to compare trade-

[30] Krehbiel, *op. cit.*, p. 423.

[31] See G. D. H. Cole, *Labour in the Coal Mining Industry* (1914–21); S. Webb, *The Story of the Durham Miners; Labour Year Book* (1919 ff.) and *The Socialist Annual* (1919 ff.); "Why I Lost," *English Review*, 1929.

[32] These figures were obtained through the courtesy of Professor H. J. Laski, of the London School of Economics.

union elections with parliamentary elections. Popular participation in other trade-union elections concerning matters which did not relate directly to bread-and-butter questions was vastly inferior to that in political elections. Thus, only 10 per cent of the members of the National Union of Railwaymen took part in the 1919 election of representatives to the Labour party conference and only 9.0 per cent of the members of the United Society of Boilermakers took part in the 1921 election of a general secretary. While the interest of the miners in their trade-union elections was generally greater than that of the members of other trade-unions this does not mean that the other trade-unions were less well organized for political purposes. From the standpoint of this study the important thing to note is that in the mining and industrial districts which still form the backbone of the Labour party there is a highly proficient vote-procuring machinery which is brought into operation in parliamentary as well as in trade-union elections. The post-war economic plight of Great Britain has compelled the British trade-unionists to use all possible methods, political as well as economic, to maintain their standard of living and to protect their working conditions.

The challenge to the existing order presented by the program of the Labour party has aroused tremendous interest in politics among those elements which are primarily concerned with the preservation of existing arrangements. Some of the Labour leaders are outspoken in their denunciation of capitalism,[33] others are more

[33] National Minority Movement, *Report of the Second Annual Conference* (1925); The Communist Party of Great Britain, *The Reds and the Labour Party.*

cautious,[34] but to the defenders of the prevailing order all members of the Labour party are "Socialists." One Conservative agent expressed the attitude of the rank and file of his party when he referred to "the menace of the Socialist party, ever increasing in numbers, untiring in its labors both above and below the surface of the political arena, and served by keen, industrious, and watchful bands of voluntary workers, to whom the task of propagating the Socialist gospel is an absolute art."[35]

The Conservative (Unionist) party contains most of the economic and social groups whose political interests are generally opposed to those of the Labourites. The large titled landowners, the heavy industrialists, the imperialists, the loyal members of the Church of England, the nobility, and many types of tradesmen such as the liquor dealers adhere to the Conservative party. In the predominantly rural sections of England, the clergy and the squires exercise great political pressure upon tenants and farm laborers to support the Conservative candidates.[36] The labor organizers have tried to form farm laborers' unions, but they have not had a great measure

[34] J. R. MacDonald, *Parliament and Revolution* (New York, 1920); H. Tracey (ed.), *The Book of the Labour Party* (London, 1926); H. B. Lees-Smith (ed.), *The Encyclopaedia of the Labour Movement* (London, 1928).

[35] Obtained through an interview. He added that it was necessary to fight the antireligious, subversive, and revolutionary principles of communism and build up in its stead the God-fearing, stalwart, and constitutional bulwark of conservatism.

[36] G. Edwards, *From Crow Scaring to Parliament.*

of success.[37] In the industrial and urban areas the employers' associations and the chambers of commerce are active in behalf of the Conservative party. The close connection between the co-operative movement and the Labour party has strengthened the attachment that the small retailers have had for the Conservative cause.[38] The liquor dealers are almost without exception members of the Conservative party. Organized into what is called the Trade Defense League for purposes of getting votes, they claim a block of 1,000 votes in every constituency.[39] Most of the temperance reformers are Liberals, but in certain labor constituencies the temperance movement has gained considerable headway.[40] In getting votes for its candidates the Conservative party can also rely upon the great prestige enjoyed by the English aristocracy. The dominant interests in the party have turned to it in desperation for remedies for the post-war economic depression. In the 1929 election it polled 8,260,000 votes, or 38.1 per cent of the total vote cast.

[37] *Labour Organizer,* March, 1924, p. 9. Labour propagandists were refused halls or embarrassed by the presence of the squire in their audience. Farm laborers seen in Labour meetings were subject to persecution.

[38] A. Barnes, M.P., *The Co-operative in Politics* (London, Fabian Society, 1923).

[39] Speech of Viscount Astor at the Liberal Summer School, Cambridge, 1925; see also The Labour Party, *Labour and the Liquor Trade* (1923).

[40] In the Nelson and Colne Division (a Labour stronghold) there were only 13 liquor licenses for a population of 45,000 in 1925. See also *The Brewer's Almanach and Wine and Spirit Annual* (London, 1925), p. 50.

Although it has been declining in strength since the war, the Liberal party is still a very important factor in British politics. The election of 1923 showed that there are many merchants and trades people who rally to its banner when the issue of free trade is raised. The party can also rely upon the nonconformist elements which are not attracted to the Labour party. In the election of 1929, the Liberal managers made a determined effort to build up their organization in the rural districts by presenting a thorough program of land reform.[41] While the party had a huge campaign fund and an unusually large number of candidates, it received only 5,090,000 votes, or 23.5 per cent of the total vote cast. The labor elements which once belonged to the party have probably been lost to it forever, but it still hopes for a revival among the small farmers and the members of the middle class.

The political conflict between the various economic and social groups inhabiting the British Isles can be regarded as one of the underlying causes of the huge polls in 1924 and 1929. Among the immediate causes of this remarkable demonstration of electoral interest was the high state of efficiency of the party organizations.[42] During the war the electoral mechanism so well described by Ostrogorski[43] almost ceased to function. In 1918 the strain put upon the party machines was very great. However, six years later these machines were in good working order. To be

[41] The Liberal Party, *Land and the People* (London, 1926).

[42] J. M. Gaus, *op. cit.*, pp. 110 ff.; J. K. Pollock, "British Party Organization," *Political Science Quarterly*, XLV (1930), 161–80.

[43] *Democracy and the Organisation of Political Parties* (London, 1902), Part I.

sure, the Liberal party organization was a mere shell of its former self, but its deficiencies were made up by the other two party organizations. The organization of the Conservative party had never before reached such a high degree of perfection.[44] Its central office employed a staff of some 250 experts, charged with looking after such matters as inspection, propaganda, young people's organizations, women's organizations, statistics, and finance. In each of the 451 constituencies there was a party agent who kept track of the lists of registered voters, who organized meetings, who distributed leaflets, who supervised the work of the women's organizations, who looked after the recruitment of the young people, and who raised funds for the expenses of the local organization. These salaried agents form the backbone of the Conservative and Liberal party organizations. These men have chosen to make electoral organization their life-work; they have their own mutual-benefit associations and they publish their own journals.[45] There is no class comparable to them in the United States or on the continent of Europe. The professional politicians in the United States occupy positions of power not only in the party organizations but also in the government itself. A Conservative or Lib-

[44] H. de Kerillis, "Chez les Anglais," *L'Echo de Paris,* June 17, 1926, makes the statement that the total annual budget of the British Conservative party, including the local and central organizations, is about £2,000,000. M. de Kerillis made a special study of the Conservative party organization in the spring of 1926. Pollock states, *op cit.,* p. 167, that the annual expenditures of the Central Office, exclusive of any general election expenditures, are £100,000.

[45] The *Conservative Agent's Journal,* the *Liberal Agent,* and the *Labour Organizer.*

eral agent in Great Britain can have no ambitions but to carry his constituency for his party.[46] He is a servant of the governing class. The organization of the Labour party is somewhat different. The functions of the election and registration agent are frequently combined with those of the secretary of the local trades council.[47] The secretary of a trades council is a man who occupies a position of influence in the party, and he may even aspire to become a candidate for Parliament. The Labour party organization is therefore much more democratic than that of the other two major parties. It does not have the money to pay a complete staff of organizers whose sole duties are electoral, but in 1929 there were 167 Labour party agents, 126 of whom were partially supported by the central organization.[48] From the standpoint of the technical mastery of electoral matters, training, and knowledge, the British election agents are a remarkable group.

The extension of the suffrage to women in 1918 and 1928 presented a number of difficult problems of party organization. The light poll obtained in 1919 showed that the leaders would need time to solve these problems. The Conservative party managers had enlisted the aid of women in electioneering before the days of woman suffrage through an organization known as the Primrose League, but this organization did not give the women a

[46] As one of them put it, "We are not privileged to deal with questions of policy, it is our duty to take things as they are."

[47] *The Labour Yearbook* (1925).

[48] *Report of the Twenty-ninth Annual Conference of the Labour Party* (1929), pp. 287–92.

voice in political affairs; it merely recognized the valuable service which they could render in carrying out man-made designs.[49] Since the Primrose League was not an integral part of the party organization, the Conservative party managers were driven to form separate local associations or sections for the women. The Liberal and Labour party managers were not behind their Tory opponents in recognizing the need for women's organizations.[50] The Labour party, having taken a more advanced stand on the position of women, had a decided advantage over the other parties. There were women trade-union organizers and women socialist agitators long before the war who were able to assume a position of leadership in politics at once. All the parties now have special conferences for the women, special women's publications, special social functions for the women, and the women are encouraged to attend the regular party conferences and to become candidates for Parliament. In the 1929 campaign novelettes were circulated by the Liberal and Unionist parties in order to attract the newly enfranchised young women.[51] Party agents and others interrogated regarding the political interest of the women testified almost unanimously that the women who became interested in politics were more active than most of the men.

[49] Ostrogorski, *op. cit.* Regarding present-day organization see *Women's Unionist Organisation: Handbook for Women Organisers and Workers* (1925) and *Report of the Sixth Annual Conference* (1925).

[50] See Hester Holland, *Organisation for Liberal Women,* and The Labour Party, *Women's Work in the Labour Party.*

[51] *The Woman of Today and Tomorrow* (Unionist); Peter Vaughan, *Her Decision* (Liberal).

In addition to enfranchising the women, the Act of 1918 also gave the vote to a large number of male lodgers who had no special attachment to the community. The Labour party leaders have been especially successful in arousing this element of the electorate through such organizations as the Guild of Youth, the Plebs League, the Fabian Society, the Labour summer schools, and the Labour colleges.[52] In addition to the services of these organizations, the Labour party managers have the benefit of the hold that the trade-unions have upon apprentices and members who are not of age. Following the disastrous defeat of 1906 the Conservatives organized what was called the Junior Imperial League, a society designed to attract young men to the Conservative cause.[53] After the Act of 1918, young women were admitted to this organization on an equal footing with young men, and the functions of the organization became more of a social nature. In addition to the Junior Imperial League, some Conservative party agents organize juvenile associations. One agent said that these organizations were created for the purpose of teaching patriotism and for the purpose of giving the children the idea that pleasure might be associated with their politics. There is also a Conservative "college," called the Philip Stott College, which gives Conservative workingmen an opportunity for a two weeks'

[52] G. D. H. Cole, *The British Labour Movement* (London, 1925); *The National Council of Labour Colleges and Its Work* (1924–25); and *The Labour Yearbook* (1925).

[53] The Junior Imperial League, *Handbook for Organisers and Workers* (1925), and The National Union of Conservative and Unionist Associations, *Handbook on Juvenile Organisations* (1925).

study. Since 1920 the Liberal party has brought together discussion groups each summer, called the Liberal Summer School.

All of the three great parties in Great Britain have given considerable attention to the technique of political propaganda. As far as press support is concerned, the Conservative party has a tremendous advantage over its two rivals. The small size of the country and the massing of population around London has made possible circulations that are unparalleled.[54] Within recent years the most striking tendency in British journalism in London and in the provinces has been the concentration of ownership of the new popular dailies and weeklies in the hands of comparatively few individuals who have inclined to favor the Conservative party. These papers are constantly playing up political news in a light which is favorable to the interests of the Conservatives. The enormous political pressure that can be exercised by the metropolitan press was well illustrated by the campaign of 1924. Under the lead of the *Daily Mail* the London journals exploited the Zinovieff incident to the fullest extent, and by a constant repetition of a distorted view of the facts threw many timid-hearted electors into a panic.[55] The headlines fairly shrieked against the Macdonald government, and partly as a result of the persistent hammering of the

[54] Gaus, *op. cit.*, chap. x.

[55] Iconoclast (Mary Agnes Hamilton), *J. Ramsay Macdonald* (1923–25); the *Daily Herald* and the *Daily Mail* for October, 1924; A. McManus, *History of the Zinoviev Letter* (London, 1925); Trades Union Congress, *The Zinoviev Letter* (London, 1925); Cambray, *op. cit.*, p. 187.

press the Conservative party rolled up a record vote.[56] To counteract the pounding of the great metropolitan dailies,[57] the Liberal and the Labour parties do not have any adequate weapons. Among the Liberal journals, the *Manchester Guardian* enjoys widespread confidence, but it is a provincial and not a metropolitan paper. The chief organ of the Labour party, the *Daily Herald*, struggles along propped up by a subsidy from the party and the Trades Union Congress.[58] In the large boroughs and in some of the parliamentary constituencies there are local Labour weeklies or monthlies.[59] While the Labour and Liberal parties are handicapped by the lack of proper newspaper support, they benefit from the fact that all of the newspapers give considerable attention to political news in ordinary times as in election times. Labour and Liberal schemes are given publicity in the opposition press.

Like other countries Great Britain is literally flooded

[56] The uniform testimony of persons connected with all parties was to the effect that this letter had a tremendous influence. Elderly women who had never voted before went to the polls on October 29, 1924.

[57] In Scotland the *Glasgow Herald* and the *Edinburgh Scotsman* are influential organs of the Conservative party.

[58] George Lansbury, *The Miracle of Fleet Street* (1925); *The Labour Yearbook* (1930). In 1929 a new company was formed in conjunction with Messrs. Odhams, Ltd., the company being called the Daily Herald, Ltd. The share capital of the new company is divided between the Trades Union Congress and Messrs. Odhams, Ltd., the latter controlling a majority, but the complete control of policy being in the hands of the Trade Union Congress directors.

[59] The *Town Crier* (Birmingham), the *Observer* (Stockport), the *Forward* (Glasgow), and the *Pioneer* (Woolich).

with posters and oratory during an election campaign. The Conservative party, having the fullest campaign coffers, has perfected the art of bill posting to a high degree. High officials in the Conservative party frankly admitted that the purpose of the posters was to appeal to the emotions rather than to the intellect. Considerable ingenuity has also been shown in the Liberal and Labour posters. In 1929 the Liberals made extensive use of huge electric signs. In the matter of oratory, all three party organizations are proficient in one way or another. The Conservative party has a staff of around three hundred professional open-air speakers who hold some three thousand meetings in London alone each summer.[60] The Liberal party has the services of some of Britain's most distinguished public speakers, while the Labour party also has some notable speakers and besides it can count on a large and enthusiastic band of missionaries who are willing to sacrifice their time and energy for the advancement of their cause. In the campaign of 1929 considerable use was made of the radio. The Conservative party monopolized half of the time at first, but it later reached a compromise with the other two parties, allowing each one a third of the time. Wide use was also made of gramophone records prepared by the leading orators of each of the parties.

The technique of running elections in Great Britain is a very highly developed art if not a science. At a general election or at a by-election, it is rare indeed that each voter is not canvassed at least twice. This is in addition to the canvasses which are made when there is no election

[60] H. de Kerillis, *loc. cit.*

in sight. The canvassers are volunteer workers with few exceptions, and in a hotly contested constituency they may number as high as four hundred for each party. After an election campaign starts, the official registers of electors are placed in the hands of the representatives of the different candidates who are entitled by law to one free post at each parliamentary election. It therefore follows that each elector receives a poll card containing his name, his number on the register, and the location of the polling station or an election address from each of the candidates.[61] When the election is a close one a considerable proportion of the electors may receive a personal visit from the candidates themselves.[62] On election day an efficient check is kept of all who come to the polls, and toward the end of the day strenuous efforts are made to reach those who have not voted. In this last-minute drive for votes the Conservative candidates can usually rely upon the services of five motor cars to every one of their opponents.[63] However, a superior number of con-

[61] A study of the effect of complete notification by mail of all the adult citizens was made in selected districts in Chicago, and it brought distinctly positive results in two elections. See my *Getting Out the Vote* (Chicago, 1927). In Great Britain such notification is supplied by the parties as a matter of course.

[62] Frank Gray, *Confessions of a Candidate* (London, 1925).

[63] The *Observer* (Chichester), November 5, 1924; the *Daily News* (Sussex), November 2, 1924; and personal observation at Stockport on September 17, 1925. It is in the country districts where the number of conveyances makes a big difference in the size of the poll. Here the motor cars of the well-to-do landlords exert moral as well as physical pressure upon the electors.

veyances is not a decisive factor in many constituencies.[64] In the mining districts the trades-union officials meet the miners as they enter or leave the pits and conduct them personally to the polls. In the industrial cities of the North where the Labour party is strong, the distance to the polls is seldom great.

One striking difference between the nature of the party organization in Great Britain and the United States is the fact that the British parties must be ready for an election at any time whereas the politicians in the United States know just when the elections are coming and they do not need a vast permanent staff. Between elections in Great Britain, the party agents, the members of Parliament, and the prospective candidates for Parliament are engaged in what is called "nursing their constituencies." The process of nursing varies with the constituency but in general it means that the candidate and his supporters try to get into personal touch with as many voters as possible. The agent tours the division, hires workers to make a registration canvass,[65] arranges for garden parties, whist drives, and bazaars, writes personal letters to many electors in his district soliciting a subscription or announcing a party event, circulates literature, and builds up a body of voluntary workers who will support

[64] In Oldham all three parties have signed an agreement not to use conveyances. When this agreement first went into effect (1911) the vote fell off 4 per cent.

[65] The law prohibits the hiring of canvassers during an election campaign.

his policies and do his "dog" work.[66] The candidate or prospective candidate must be ready to sacrifice his time, money, and energy in the service of his constituents. He must be ready to make speeches on many different occasions, to attend athletic contests, to subscribe liberally to local charity, and to see the permanent officials of Whitehall regarding matters concerning his constituents.[67] Even the intellectuals in the Labour party do not escape this drudgery.[68] They must keep in touch with the local trade-unions and with the local co-operative societies. In some constituencies they must take an active part in the life of the local nonconformist church. The purpose of these activities is to place as many of the voters in personal relationship with the candidate as possible. The frequency of post-war general elections in England intensified this type of activity and accelerated the political education of the new voters.

The record of popular participation in British elections since 1895 shows that the British have not lost their art of making difficult governmental adjustments. The percentage of the registered vote cast in 1924 and 1929 was almost up to the pre-war level in spite of the fact that the electorate was greatly increased by the acts of 1918 and 1928. The continuous attention paid

[66] National Union of Conservative and Unionist Associations, *Handbook of Constituency Organisation* (1925); Association of Conservative Clubs, *The Political Side of Club Life;* and the *Labour Organiser.*

[67] The best description of "nursing" is given in Frank Gray, *Confessions of a Candidate* (London, 1925).

[68] J. R. MacDonald, "How I Won Aberavon," *Nation* (London), XXXII (1922), 310.

to political matters in Great Britain, the confidence that the public has in the honesty and ability of the party leaders, the necessity for constant electoral preparation under the British parliamentary system, the enormous importance attached to parliamentary elections and governmental activities, the great convenience of British electoral arrangements, the stress of post-war economic conditions, the pressure brought by economic groups upon the political leaders, the vitality of the post-war electoral issues, and the efficiency of the party organizations are all factors which have had some influence upon this result.

CHAPTER II

FRENCH PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS

Like the British, the French have confidence in the value of voting and the efficacy of parliamentary institutions.[1] The French parliamentary system does not operate in the same fashion as the British, but this does not lessen to the French the importance of the elections to their popular chamber. In France the Chamber of Deputies shares some of its powers with the Senate, but in the long run it is the most powerful governmental agency in a highly centralized state which undertakes a great variety of functions, such as the control of education, the fostering of industries by bounties and tariffs, the subsidizing of the arts and sciences, and the regulation of many details of private industry. Since the war the deputies have also had to deal with such important international problems as the economic reconstruction of Europe, reparations, interallied debts, and the organization for peace. The fact that the power of dissolution of the lower house is practically unusable in France accentuates the significance of the periodic elections of the national legislature. The deputies, during their four years of office, are the virtual masters of the ministers.

The Great War did not bring any far-reaching changes in the suffrage in France as it did in Great Britain. In 1919 as in 1914 the French electorate included all male

[1] C. J. H. Hayes, *France: A Nation of Patriots* (New York, 1930), p. 24.

citizens, twenty-one years of age and over, enjoying at the time of the election the exercise of their civil and political rights.[2] However, before the war the French used a single-member-district system for the election of members of the Chamber of Deputies, and for the first two elections after the war they used a list system of voting. The French single-member-district system differed from the British system in that there was a second balloting in case no candidate received a majority at the first balloting. At the second or run-off election a plurality was sufficient to elect. The electoral law of 1919 provided for a block system of voting by departments,[3] and contained the three following rules for the distribution of the seats: (1) the candidates obtaining an absolute majority of the votes cast are declared elected; (2) in districts where all the candidates are not elected by an absolute majority each list is assigned as many seats as its average is contained in the electoral quotient;[4] and (3) if there are still more undistributed seats, these are assigned to the list having the highest average. From the standpoint of popular interest in elections it is important to note that both the single-member-district system and the list system used in France encouraged the formation of party blocs. In 1927 the French abandoned the list system of voting and went back to the single-member-district system with

[2] E. Pierre, *Traité de droit politique, électoral et parlementaire* (cinquième ed., supplément; Paris, 1924), secs. 113–23.

[3] *Ibid.*, secs. 221–27.

[4] Obtained by dividing the number of votes cast by the number of candidates to be elected.

a provision for a second balloting one week after the first.

It is comparatively easy to ascertain the number of eligible voters in France because in each commune are kept permanent electoral lists which are brought up to date once a year by an "administrative committee of revision" composed of the mayor, who acts as president, a delegate named by the prefect, and a delegate chosen by the communal council.[5] The birth records in the mayor's office are so complete that the citizens just becoming of voting age do not have to see about putting their names on the list. The compulsory military laws furnish an added spur to the officials to keep the census of the young male citizens up to date. It is true that the elector who has moved from one commune to another must make personal application for a change in registration, but in comparison with the complex and burdensome registration systems in the United States the French system is extremely simple and inexpensive. No special canvass is made to check up on the lists as in England, and the members of the administrative committee are given no special compensation for their work. The names of the dead and of those who have moved away are not always erased, and there is some difficulty in guarding against double inscriptions,[6] but in general the lists give a fairly accurate idea

[5] Pierre, *op. cit.*, secs. 124–27, and Dalloz, *Manuel électoral* (Paris, 1925), pp. 1–73.

[6] Joseph-Barthélemy, *Rapport à la Chambre des Députés sur le vote obligatoire du 7 juillet 1922,* No. 4738, pp. 16, 23; R. Ségot, *De l'Abstention en Matière électoral* (Angers, 1906); W. R. Sharp, "The New French Electoral Law and the Elections of 1928," *American Political Science Review,* XXII, 687.

of the total number of eligible voters at the time of each election.

On the basis of the official statistics, Table IV shows the extent of popular participation in French national legislative elections since 1876.[7]

TABLE IV

POPULAR PARTICIPATION IN FRENCH PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS, 1876–1928

Date of General Elections	Enrolled Electors	Number of Voters	Per Cent
February, 1876	9,961,261	7,366,282	74.0
October, 1877	9,948,070	8,012,714	80
October, 1881	10,124,830	6,944,531	69
October, 1885*	10,181,095	7,896,062	78
October, 1889	10,387,330	7,953,382	76.6
August, 1893	10,443,378	7,425,354	71.1
May, 1898	10,896,558	8,290,294	76.1
May, 1902	11,109,851	8,795,031	79.1
May, 1906	11,340,527	9,050,858	79.9
April, 1910	11,440,318	8,787,229	77.5
April, 1914	11,177,499	8,619,612	77.1
November, 1919*	11,048,092	7,801,879	70
May, 1924*	10,620,916	8,813,275	83
April, 1928	10,912,438	9,136,155	83.6

* Election held under *scrutin de liste.*

The outstanding fact revealed by this table is that before and after the war there were considerable oscilla-

[7] These figures appear in G. Lachapelle, *Les Elections législatives du 11 mai 1924* (Paris, 1924), p. 36. However, the table here presented does not agree in all respects with the one which Lachapelle gives. For the elections of 1919 and 1924 and 1928 I have subtracted the figures for the three departments added by the Treaty of Versailles in order to make the figures comparable to the prewar figures. My figures for 1914, taken from G. Lachapelle, *Les Elections législatives des 26 avril et 10 mai 1914* (Paris, 1914), p. 220, and those for 1910, taken from the *Annuaire statistique de la France* (1909), pp. 313–14, are lower than those given in Lachapelle's

tions in the size of the poll in French elections.[8] In the pre-war period a much larger proportion of the electors was interested in the elections of 1876, 1877, 1885, 1889, 1902, and 1906 than in the elections of 1881, 1893, and 1898. The principal difference between the two sets of elections is that at the former there were keen electoral struggles while the latter came during periods of relative political tranquillity. The fact that the power of dissolution has been used but once under the third republic makes it less likely that an election will coincide with a period of political excitement as in Great Britain. In the early days of the present French Republic the issues that stirred the electors to action were the acceptance of the Constitution (1876), the forced dissolution of the Chamber by President MacMahon (May 16, 1877), a new offensive by the conservative monarchist coalition (1885), and the menace of Boulangism (1889). In the first part of the twentieth century the electors were arrayed into opposing camps by the issue of anticlericalism. In 1902 the question was posed as to the renewing of the anticlerical policies, and in 1906 the paramount issue was the separation of the church and the state. In 1881, 1893, and 1898 there were many electoral abstentions because the conservative parties had been thoroughly dis-

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table because I have not included the figures for the colonies while Lachapelle has. The percentage differences are negligible. The figures for 1928 were obtained from G. Lachapelle, *Les Elections législatives, 22–29 avril 1928* (Paris, 1928).

[8] See A. Siegfried, *Tableau politique de la France de l'Ouest* (Paris, 1913), Book III, and L. Marcellin, *Politique et politiciens d'avant guerre* (Paris, 1925).

couraged by such events as the Republican victory as a result of *le seize mai*, the subsequent resignation of MacMahon, the fiasco of Boulangism, and the growth of the Republican Catholic movement in the nineties. During these periods of appeasement, the coalition of the right did not actively concern itself with rallying its full electoral strength to the urns.

The election of 1910 marked a new epoch in French political history. The separation of the church and state was an accomplished fact, and the forces which had most bitterly fought this policy were disheartened. As a consequence one might expect to find a high percentage of electoral abstentions in 1910,[9] but such was not the case. Almost the same interest was manifested in the elections of 1910 and 1914 as in the elections of 1902 and 1906. A new series of questions, largely economic in nature, spurred the voters to action upon election day. The rise of socialism was presenting a new challenge to the forces of conservatism. The Socialists polled 13 per cent of the total vote cast in 1910, 16 per cent in 1914, 19 per cent in 1919, and together with the Communists 29.5 per cent in 1928.[10]

According to the table, the first exercise of the suffrage in France under the 1919 law did not arouse great popular interest. However, the official statistics exaggerate

[9] Professor Siegfried considers the 1910 election as coming in a period of "apaisement." This was true in general for the particular part of France that he was studying. In the West the Socialists have never made any considerable headway.

[10] *L'Annuaire statistique de la France* (1909), p. 314; *ibid.* (1921), p. 366, and L. Jacques, *Les Partis politiques* (Paris, 1913), p. 432.

the number of electoral abstentions. There were many imperfections in the electoral lists of 1919, owing to the fact that those in charge of the revision did not have complete information regarding the dead and the missing. In the devasted regions all the records had been destroyed and as a consequence the apparent number of abstentions in such departments as the Marne and the Aisne was relatively much larger than usual.[11] Furthermore, the fact that there were 427,176 more names inscribed in 1919 than in 1924 (exclusive of the annexed provinces) shows conclusively that the lists of 1919 were highly unreliable.[12]

Even making an allowance for considerable inaccuracy of the electoral lists, the number of abstentions in the 1919 election still appears fairly high.[13] This fact may be partly explained on the ground that there were many voters in active service in the army or navy at the time of the election. In France, the names of such electors are kept upon the lists of the communes from which they enlisted, but the exercise of their suffrage is suspended dur-

[11] For six elections:

Year	1902	1906	1910	1914	1919	1924
Per cent of abstentions:						
In the Aisne	16.1	19.4	18.6	17.4	36.0	13.0
In the Marne	16.6	17.9	16.5	16.1	26.2	11.1

There were nearly 10,000 fewer electors inscribed in the department of the Marne in 1924 than in 1919.

[12] The population of the country was about the same on both dates (see *Annuaire général de la France et de l'étranger* [1925], pp. 77–80).

[13] If the assumption is made that the 1924 figure is more nearly correct for the actual number of inscribed electors in 1919 than the official 1919 number, the percentage of abstentions in 1919 was 26.5 instead of 30.0.

ing the period of their active service.[14] The French demobilization was not complete in November, 1919, and it is therefore highly probable that the actual number of non-voters in that year was not greatly in access to the pre-war average.[15]

The fact remains that there were many eligible voters in the country who failed to take part in the first election following the war. A number of explanations may be given for this. Many of the new electors, deprived of all experience in voting during the war, were hesitant about voting. The party organizations had been disrupted by the war and were not able to do much to remedy this situation. In addition, the method of voting at the election was new to practically all the voters.[16] The pre-war electors who had been used to voting for a single candidate were confronted with rival lists of candidates containing

[14] For a discussion of this point see Joseph-Barthélemy and P. Duez, *Traité élémentaire de droit constitutionnel* (Paris, 1926), pp. 353–56.

[15] There were 600,000 men in active service at the end of September, 1919, who had been recruited from the metropole (*Annuaire général de la France et de l'étranger* [1920–21], p. 118). Making allowance for the factors here discussed, I would estimate that the actual percentage of abstentions in France in 1919 was nearer 23.0 than 30.0. R. L. Buell, in his *Contemporary French Politics* (New York, 1920), p. 192, makes the unsupported statement that "there was a heavy vote cast." This exaggerates the case in the other direction. In view of all possible corrections the vote could hardly be called "heavy."

[16] There may have been a number of electors who had taken part in the election of 1885 at which the *scrutin de liste* was employed, but the electoral laws of 1885 and 1919 were different in many respects.

anywhere from two to fourteen names.[17] It is no wonder that some of them, recognizing few of the names on any of the lists, were confused and preferred to stay at home on election day. The campaign was so impersonal that it did not arouse great interest in the result.[18] Then, too, the issues presented at the election did not have a dramatic appeal that stirred all parts of the electorate alike. The Bloc National, a new electoral organization which flavored of the war period, was constructed to oppose socialism, to stabilize the government, to reorganize the public services, to encourage private initiative, to carry out the peace treaty, and to fulfil the engagements toward those who suffered war damages.[19] The Bloc was a fusion of party groupings the constituent elements of which were not entirely harmonious. In the pre-war days anticlericalism had been one of the most stirring issues of French politics. The declaration of the Bloc in favor of the absolute laity of the state and the school did not please some of the churchmen. On the other hand, the radicals could not be reconciled to an alliance with their former bitterest enemies.[20] The Socialist party, which formed

[17] Two deputies were elected from the territory of Belfort and fourteen from the Fourth District of the Seine (Paris). See Pierre, *op. cit.*, pp. 308–9, for the electoral circonscriptions in 1924.

[18] On this point see M. Bonnafous, *Le Scrutin d'arrondissement et la politique* (Paris, 1926), chaps. iv-vi. As M. Bonnafous points out, it does not follow that a personal interest in the campaign always produces good results. The deputies may be compelled to waste their time with trivial local affairs.

[19] For the program of the bloc see J. Carrère and G. Bourgin, *Manuel des partis politiques en France* (Paris, 1924), pp. 54–57.

[20] *Ibid.*, p. 55.

the principal target of this conservative union, was torn by internal struggles.[21] Even their most optimistic leaders did not prophesy great victories at the polls. Under the circumstances, it is likely that many of those who failed to vote took the attitude that the affairs of France were going well and that a vote cast for one side or the other would not make any great difference.

The situation was entirely changed four and a half years later on the eve of the second general post-war election. Most of the conditions which had tended in 1919 to produce a great disparity between the number of inscribed electors and the number of voters no longer existed. By May 11, 1924, the electoral lists had been carefully revised. The new electors had had the experience of the general elections of 1919 and the cantonal elections of 1922, the number of electors whose exercise of the suffrage was temporarily suspended on account of active military or naval service was greatly diminished,[22] the forces of the left had formed the Cartel des Gauches to combat the Bloc National,[23] and there were large groups of discontented electors who pinned some hope on the results of the election. Many functionaries were active on behalf of the Cartel because the Poincaré government had

[21] P. Louis, *Histoire du socialisme en France* (Paris, 1925), chap. xi, and A. Zévaès, *Le Parti Socialiste de 1904 à 1923* (Paris, 1924), pp. 171 ff.

[22] There were 479,000 soldiers recruited from the metropole in active service in 1923 (*Annuaire général de la France et de l'étranger* [1925], p. 66).

[23] P. S. Mowrer, Paris correspondent of the *Chicago Daily News,* made an excellent prophecy of the results of this combination (see his dispatches of April 25 and May 10, 1924).

threatened to wipe out many of their positions by the *décrets-lois,* and many small merchants were disgruntled because of the business turnover tax and other imposts levied by the existing government.[24]

The big issues of the election were not without their dramatic appeal. It was easy to associate the fall of the franc and the rise of the price of living with the financial policies of the existing government.[25] There were likewise widely divergent views regarding the success of the policy which culminated in the occupation of the Ruhr.[26] In addition, the recognition of the Vatican stirred some of the old political passions. The main tenets of the Cartel des Gauches were the adoption of a conciliatory attitude toward Germany, the immediate enactment of drastic financial measures, and the adoption of a series of social reforms. After the electoral debâcle of 1919 and the schism of 1920 the Socialist party leaders were ready to make electoral combinations with the bourgeois Radical party.[27] The Communist party also added to the zest of the campaign by presenting the bolshevist scare in its purest form. The result of these various conditions was the highest vote in relation to the number of inscribed at-

[24] *Le Temps,* May 14, 1925; *Le Journal des débats,* May 19, 1924.

[25] H. G. Moulton and C. Lewis, *The French Debt Problem* (New York, 1925).

[26] J. Kessel and G. Duarez, *Le Onze Mai* (Paris, 1924), gives the views of the leading candidate.

[27] Although the Unified Socialist party increased its electoral strength in 1919 it lost nearly one-half of its seats due to the peculiar operation of the new electoral law. The Socialist defense of the cartel policy may be found in Parti Socialiste, *XXIIe Congrès National* (Paris, 1925).

tained in France under the third republic up to that time.

To what extent was the high poll in 1924 due to the list system of voting? The hybrid election law of 1919 did not operate the same in all parts of the country so it is hazardous to offer any generalizations. In certain departments where all the candidates were elected by absolute majorities under both the list and the district systems, it appeared that voting was encouraged by the first trial of the new system but not by the second. Thus, the relative position as regards non-voting of the departments of Calvados and Manche changed for the better in 1919 but for the worse in 1924. However, it is clear that under the single-member-district system the majority rule discouraged voting in districts where one party had a great preponderance of strength. A statistical measure of the influence of this factor in the elections of 1914 is given in Table V.

This table shows clearly that the closeness of the contest has a great deal to do with the size of the vote cast under the single-member-district system. In the districts where there were a great many candidates and where the high man won less than 30 per cent of the total votes cast the poll was only 72 per cent of the electorate. The voters in these districts felt that no one candidate had a chance of winning a majority on the first balloting, and consequently they did not show the same interest in voting as did the voters in districts where one candidate had a chance of winning a majority and the election on the first balloting. In the districts where one candidate has an overwhelming majority the voters are likewise discour-

aged as a full vote is not likely to alter the result. In the districts where there was no contest the vote reached the low level of 65 per cent of the registered electors. It is probable that a thoroughgoing system of proportional representation would raise the general level of voting interest in France.

TABLE V

POPULAR PARTICIPATION IN FRENCH PARLIAMENTARY DISTRICTS CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO CLOSENESS OF CONTEST, 1914

(First Balloting)

France (not including colonies; 87 departments)

Per Cent of Total Votes Cast Received by Leading Candidate*	Registered Voters	Total Vote Cast	Per Cent
20–29.9	255,064	183,858	72.1
30–39.9	1,430,868	1,094,264	76.5
40–49.9	3,097,940	2,432,296	78.5
50–59.9	3,989,976	3,164,197	79.3
60–69.9	877,100	668,820	76.3
70–79.9	521,154	378,648	72.7
80–89.9	221,999	161,611	72.8
90–99.9	523,657	365,393	69.8
100	259,641	170,525	65.7
Total	11,177,399	8,619,612	77.1

* Blank and void ballots excluded.

The return to the single-member-district system in France did not bring with it a lessening of interest in voting in 1928. There are a number of explanations for the 83.6 per cent poll attained in that year. In the first place, there had been no election under this system for fourteen years and there were no candidates who were absolutely sure of carrying their districts. Under the electoral law of 1927 new districts had been drawn and the political complexion of most of these districts was in

doubt. The element of uncertainty played a big part in arousing all of the various party groups to put forth their best efforts. The number of candidates was higher than at any preceding election, and only 187 out of a total of 612 seats were filled at the first balloting.[28] The central issue of the campaign was the record of Premier Poincaré. During the preceding two years as the head of a National Union cabinet he had restored confidence in the French franc and put the finances of his country in order. During the election he made two powerful appeals for support for his policies and the maintenance of the Union. In opposition to the Union stood the parties of the extreme left which capitalized the discontent of the masses. The four Communist deputies who had been imprisoned on charges of having incited mutiny in the army posed as martyrs to their cause. The conservative parties were well supplied with campaign funds and resorted to the extensive use of airplanes for distributing leaflets and to other novel devices.[29] The individual candidates made vigorous appeals to the emotions and prejudices of their constituents.

An examination of the detailed records for any recent parliamentary election in France shows that popular participation in national elections varies considerably as between the different departments.[30] On the following

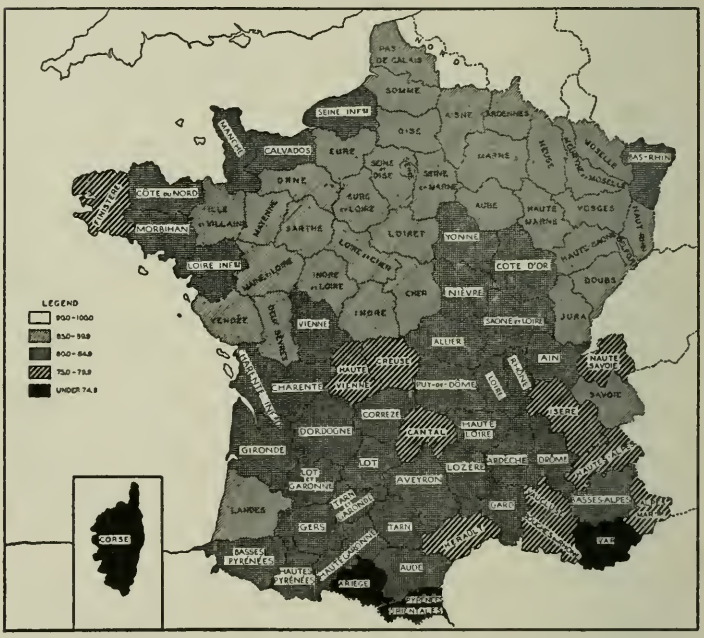
[28] G. Lachapelle, *Elections législatives, 22-29 avril 1928* (Paris, 1928), p. v.

[29] Sharp, *op. cit.*, p. 688.

[30] A composite map based on the elections of 1910, 1914, 1919, and 1924 was made by the author. In general tendencies it resembled the map given for 1928.

page is given a map which places each department in one of five classes according to the per cent of the registered vote cast in 1928.

One possible explanation for the high poll in North-eastern France is the strength of the parties of the left



in this region. In such departments as Nord, Ardennes, and Tarn where over one-third of the voters selected Socialist candidates in 1914 and 1919, the number of abstentions averaged considerably less than one-fifth of the total number of inscribed electors. A simultaneous geographical presentation of the strength of the Socialists and the proportion of non-voters would show that in

almost all the departments where the Socialist vote was at least one-seventh of the total vote the percentage of abstentions was below the average.[31] There would be a few spots on this map which would not bear out this general statement, but a close examination of these spots would reveal the fact that other considerations were operative, for which due allowance should be made. One of these spots is the region bordering the Mediterranean Sea, where nearly one-quarter of the voters usually support Socialist candidates and yet the poll rarely exceeds 70 per cent. The first point to be considered in connection with the "Midi rouge" is the actual degree of "redness." Professor Siegfried contends that much of the service rendered to socialism in the *coté d'or* is lip service.[32] In the departments of the Bouches du Rhône (Marseille) and the Var, there are many sailors and fishermen who frequently find it inconvenient to vote.[33] In addition, there are many immigrants from other parts of France and naturalized Italians who are not interested in the politics of the Midi.[34] And the old inhabitants, while interested in talking politics, are frequently loath to forego their

[31] Professor C. Seignobos suggested to the writer that one reason for the relatively high poll in these departments was the convenience of the voting facilities as compared with those in a widely scattered rural community.

[32] A Siegfried, *France: A Study in Nationality* (New Haven, 1930), pp. 80–82.

[33] For a graphical presentation of this fact see *Album graphique de la statistique générale de la France* (Paris, 1907), p. 76. Although this album is based upon the census of 1901, the general tendencies which it brings to light are still the same.

[34] *Ibid.*, p. 44.

week-ends at the seashore in order to be in town on the Sunday when the election is held.[35]

There are other incentives for voting in the west of France. In the departments of the Vendée, the Deux Sèvres, and the Mayenne, the Socialists are weak, but the average poll is a high one. The strength of the Catholic church and the nobility in these departments is such that there is no need for any special vote-procuring machinery. The powerful organization of the church and the prestige of the nobility keep up interest in voting.[36]

If the figures in Table IV are compared with the voting records of other modern democracies, it will be seen at once that the functioning of the French electorate is relatively efficient. While the French political parties are not as highly organized as English and American political parties,[37] there are many influences which bring the French voters to the polls on election day. Instead of the professional election agents who have made a thorough study of voting as in England,[38] and in place of the po-

[35] Professor Seignobos has confirmed this impression. The famous climate is the basis of the seashore week-end custom. Persons familiar with the psychology of the electors in the Midi insist that the outward signs of great interest in politics are everywhere manifest even though the election figures do not bear out this impression.

[36] Siegfried, *Tableau politique,* pp. 22 ff.

[37] J. Carrère and G. Bourgin, *op. cit.,* p. 20; G. Bourgin, J. Carrère, and A. Guérin, *Manuel des partis politiques en France* (Paris, 1928); E. M. Sait, *The Government and Politics of France* (Yonkers, 1920), pp. 328 ff.; C. Seignobos, "The Political Parties of France," *International Monthly,* August, 1901, pp. 139–65; "Die geographische Verteilung der Parteien in Frankreich," *Frankfürter Zeitung,* June 20, 22, 24, 1926.

[38] See the *Labour Organiser,* the *Conservative Agents' Journal,* and the *Liberal Agent.*

litical bosses in America who have made elections sordid business deals,[39] in France the priests,[40] the functionaries,[41] the large landed proprietors,[42] and sundry other persons perform the highly important function of seeing that the sovereign voters do their duty on election day.[43] Instead of being conducted to the polls in a private automobile, the French elector goes to the polls because he wants to act upon the advice of his priest, or because the local schoolmaster has convinced him of the importance of the election, or because he knows some local officer who wants him to vote, or because his economic plight turns him to look with favor or disfavor upon the schemes of the extreme candidates.

Since the beginning of the twentieth century some of the political parties in France have adopted methods of organization similar to those used in Great Britain and the United States.[44] This fact probably accounts in part

[39] C. E. Merriam and H. F. Gosnell, *The American Party System* (New York, 1929); R. C. Brooks, *Political Parties* (New York, 1923); and H. F. Gosnell, *Boss Platt and His New York Machine* (Chicago, 1924).

[40] Siegfried, *Tableau politique,* chap. xxxv.

[41] "Qui anima, encadra, conduisit aux urnes cette foule d'électeurs? L'arme des fonctionnaires" (P. Reynaud), "Le Onze Mai," *Revue hebdomadaire,* May 24, 1924, p. 452. See also Siegfried, *Tableau politique,* pp. 404–7; Marcellin, *op. cit.* For a one-sided view of the electoral activities of the *fonctionnaires* see C. Marcault, *L'Art de tromper, d'intimider, et de corrompre l'électeur* (Paris, 1910).

[42] Siegfried, *Tableau politique,* chap. xxxiii.

[43] The *maires, conseilleurs municipaux,* and *conseilleurs généraux* are very active in electoral matters.

[44] E. M. Sait, *op. cit.;* Jacques, *op. cit.;* Hayes, *op. cit.* A Siegfried, in his *France: A Study in Nationality* (New Haven, 1930), contends that the French are still highly individualistic in their politics.

for the maintenance of a fairly high level of interest in voting in France since 1900. However, the French party system of today presents many striking contrasts to the British and American party systems. Instead of two or three main parties there is a multitude of parties in France, some of which are very loosely organized. To add to the confusion, many of these parties frequently change their names and use different labels for their delegations in the Chamber of Deputies and the Senate than they use for their electoral organizations. A brief discussion of the main electoral organizations which stand back of the fluid groups in the Chamber will show something of their influence upon popular participation in elections.

The most reactionary political association in France today is the Action Française, which was founded in 1898 and which became royalist in 1901. While this association is opposed to elections and parliamentary government in general, it has not always advocated a policy of non-voting. In 1919 and 1924 Léon Daudet, one of its leaders, ran for the Chamber of Deputies in a Paris election district. In the rural sections of Western France where the aristocratic tradition is strong[45] the association has many sympathizers. The total membership of the organization is kept a secret, but the principal organ of the party, *L'Action Française*, has a circulation of about fifty thousand paid subscribers. The party is strong in literary and university circles and has an active band of propagandists. While it has been officially condemned by the Pope, it has many supporters among

[45] Siegfried, *France*, p. 89.

French Catholics.[46] It also receives encouragement from the other royalists and Bonapartists.

Next to the monarchists during the period from 1901 to the Great War came the Popular Liberal party (Action Libérale Populaire), a republican Catholic organization, which was founded to defend the economic and political interests of the Catholics. During this time it functioned as an active political organization, but since the war it has lapsed into a state of political quiescence.[47] Its last political congress was held in 1913, and it no longer maintains branch political organizations. However, it still acts as an aid to the conservative groups through its subsidiary organizations such as the Jeunesse Catholique, the Jeunesse Libérale, and the Catholic trade-unions. The French Confederation of Christian Workers has a post-war membership of some 125,000.[48] The lead-

[46] Hayes, *op. cit.*, p. 204.

[47] A small segment of the most advanced wing of the old Popular Liberal party formed in 1924 a new group called the Parti Démocrate Populaire which secured 14 members in the Chamber of Deputies in that year. Professor P. T. Moon, in his *The Labor Problem and the Social Catholic Movement in France* (New York, 1921), exaggerates the importance of the political movement. On p. 100 he says, "The Popular Liberal party has emerged unquestionably more powerful than the Unified Socialist party, both in parliamentary representation and in membership." In 1914, the last election at which the Popular Liberal party functioned as a separate electoral organization, its candidates together with those of the extreme right received 200,000 less votes than the Unified Socialists. The same conservative party groupings received fewer votes in 1924 than in 1914. On the new post-war group see Raymond-Laurent and M. Prélot, *Manuel politique: Le Programme du Parti Démocrate Populaire* (Paris, 1928).

[48] Moulton and Lewis, *op. cit.*, p. 238.

ers of the Central Union of Agricultural Syndicates of France are also in close touch with the Catholic movement.

Since the war the organization to which most of the Catholics have rallied is the Republican Federation,[49] a group founded in 1903. This party, like the English Conservative party, contains the great bulk of the industrialists. In 1926 there were branch committees in all the departments and forty-eight departmental federations.[50] The party is fairly well supplied with campaign funds, and it has recently engaged in an extensive campaign of propaganda. It has formed the backbone of what has been successively called the Bloc National, the Action Nationale Républicaine, and the Entente Républicaine Démocratique. Together with the parties of the right already discussed it polled over two million votes at the 1928 elections, or 23.1 per cent of the total vote cast. The program of the Republican Federation calls for strict economy in governmental affairs, for the defense of private enterprise, and for the modification of the anticlerical legislation.

Associated with the Republican Federation in the Bloc National was the Democratic Republican Alliance (Alliance Républicaine Démocratique), a lay group, whose members adhere to four different groups in the Chamber,

[49] Carrère and Bourgin, *op. cit.*, pp. 48–67; M. Bellet, "La Politique générale du parti," *Rapport au Congrès National de 1925 de la Fédération Républicaine* (Paris, 1925).

[50] J. Guiter, "L'Activité de la Fédération," *La Nation*, October 25, 1925.

most of them farther to the right than to the left.[51] Although at the time of its formation in 1901 the party was anticlerical, it has not been hostile to the church since the war. The party has attracted the support of business men, chambers of commerce, and agricultural associations. It is definitely antisocialistic in its policies, and it favors a firm policy in foreign affairs. The association is more loosely organized than the Republican Federation but it nevertheless maintains departmental committees, holds annual congresses, and supports a central headquarters.[52] In 1928 the candidates affiliated with this association polled 2,145,000 votes, representing 23 per cent of the total vote cast.

The various coalitions of the parties of the right have had the backing of powerful journalistic and economic influences. Many of the French newspapers, especially some of the Paris dailies, have been very decided in their political opinions.[53] It is true that the Paris dailies with the largest circulations, like *La Petit Parisien* and *Le Journal*, have no decided political tendencies and are re-

[51] Carrère and Bourgin, *op. cit.*, pp. 68–78; Parti Républicain Démocratique et Social, *Le Congrès de 1925* and *Sa Doctrine, son programme, son organisation* (Paris, 1925). From 1920 to 1926 this group used the name Democratic and Social Republican party (Parti Républicain Démocratique et Social).

[52] Siegfried, in his *France*, p. 85, says, "Unfortunately its [the Center's] forces are not organized, and in spite of their importance, such would-be party organizations as the Alliance Républicaine, or the Fédération Républicaine, are not parties strictly speaking."

[53] Hayes, (*op. cit.*, chap. vi) gives an excellent discussion of the French press. According to his analysis, in 1928 there were 34 dailies in Paris and 241 in the provinces. Of the Paris dailies 15 or 16 were organs of political groups.

garded as semiofficial organs which report the policies of the government of the day, yet there are many prominent dailies which are violently partisan. The small size of French newspapers and the cheapness of production have made possible the multiplication of journals of opinion. In Paris and in the provinces there is a great variety of daily offerings. The principal Paris paper of Catholic and conservative leanings is *L'Echo de Paris*, a morning paper with a circulation of some two hundred thousand. This paper is intensely patriotic, nationalistic, militaristic, and very vigorous in its foreign policy. There are many other Paris journals with similar tendencies, but smaller circulations, among which should be mentioned *Le Temps*, *L'Avenir*, *La Victoire*, and *La Liberté*.

In addition to important newspaper backing, the conservatives and moderates have the support of powerful economic associations and lively patriotic societies. The Union of Economic Interests (Union des Intérêts Economique) contributed heavily to the campaign expenses of the Bloc National in 1919.[54] The General Confederation of French Production, formed in 1920, has been combative in its attitude toward organized labor and has asked for larger appropriations to help agriculture and industry. Among the patriotic societies which carry on political propaganda for the right should be mentioned the League of Patriots (Ligue des Patriotes), which was formed in 1882 in order to agitate for a war of revenge against Germany; the French League (Ligue Française), which was founded in 1914 in order to secure the adoption of a rigorous military policy against Germany; and the

[54] Carrère and Bourgin, *op. cit.*, p. 56.

Civic League (Ligue Civique), which was established in 1917 to combat the spirit of defeatism among some of the groups of the left. The last mentioned of these organizations, on the eve of the 1924 elections, urged all the voters, whatever their political opinions, to go to the polls.[55]

Of the parties of the left, the Parti Republicain Radical et Radical-Socialiste emerged the most successful from the campaigns of 1924 and 1928. In the former year it assumed the reins of government following the victory of the Cartel des Gauches. However, like the British Liberal party, its electoral and parliamentary strength has been declining in recent years. The total vote cast for the candidates of the Cartel des Gauches in 1924 was less than that received by the Radical-Socialist candidates alone in 1910. At the 1928 election its candidates received 1,650,000 votes, which was 17.6 per cent of the total vote cast. While the Radical-Socialists had 172 seats in the Chamber in 1914, they had only 125 in 1928. The party draws its strength from the petite bourgeoisie, the small merchants, the business employees, and the civil servants. This is the class which has endured many hardships since the war. The party is not socialistic but it is in favor of state regulation of industry and of state ownership of certain natural monopolies. It is decidedly anticlerical in its policies, and has enjoyed friendly relations with the Freemasons, who frequently

[55] "Il faut voter. Quelle que soit votre opinion politique, il faut voter. Voter est moins l'exercice d'un droit que l'accomplissement d'un devoir. Aux élections prochaines va se decider le sort du pays" (*Le Temps,* May 10, 1924).

take part in the nomination of candidates and the raising of campaign funds.[56] The party itself has an elaborate organization with rules governing membership, discipline, dues, the nomination of candidates, and the determination of policies. In 1924 over fifty thousand membership cards were sold, and in the following year thirty thousand more.[57] As a representative body, the annual conference is more or less of a sham. The guiding force of the party is an inner core of deputies, senators, general councilors, and journalists who make politics one of their chief concerns. Among the Paris journals backing the Radical-Socialists are *L'Œuvre* and *Le Quotidien.* The latter has a circulation of about two hundred thousand and was particularly active following the 1924 election.

The Parti Républicain Socialiste stands between the Radical-Socialists and the Socialists. It was founded in 1911 by some prominent Socialist politicians who found that they could not work with the Socialist party. While it has a party platform and an executive committee to approve nominations, it is not as highly organized as the Radical-Socialist party. Its program is only mildly socialistic, and its leaders have at times co-operated with some of the moderate parties of the center. Its chief electoral strength lies in the great prestige enjoyed by some of its leaders.[58]

Despite a parliamentary setback in the elections of 1919

[56] Marcellin, *op. cit.,* p. 217; Marcault, *op. cit.;* F. Delaisi, *La démocratie et des financiers* (Paris, 1910), pp. 138 ff.

[57] Parti Républicain Radical et Radical-Socialiste, *21e Congrès* (Paris, 1924), p. 305, and *22e Congrès* (Paris, 1925), p. 33.

[58] Aristide Briand, Paul Painlevé.

and losses to the Communists in 1920, the Socialist party (Section Française de l'Internationale Ouvrière) still remains one of the most highly organized and largest political parties in France. In 1928 it polled 18.1 per cent of all the votes cast. It is not directly connected with the trade-union movement as is the British Labour party, but its chiefs enjoy friendly relations with the leaders of the Confédération Générale du Travail which claimed a membership of some six hundred thousand in 1924.[59] There is a fairly close relationship between the figures for trade-union membership and the Socialist party vote.[60] The party itself has a membership of over seventy-five thousand.[61] The members of the party in each commune form a section. The sections in each department unite to form a federation which selects an executive committee and holds annual congresses. The national congress of the party held each year lays down the principles and rules to which all the party members must adhere. The Socialist party is not as revolutionary now as it was before the war. Its demand for a capital levy, heavy taxes on large landowners, and a drastic curtailment of military expenditures are the principal items in its program which have alarmed the conservatives. Its official Paris organ, *Le Populaire*, was revived as a daily in 1927 and still has a severe financial struggle. Its columns are chiefly de-

[59] *Yearbook of the International Federation of Amsterdam* (1925).

[60] The figures for trade-union membership by departments in 1920 may be found in *L'Annuaire statistique de la France* (1923), pp. 125–26.

[61] Parti Socialiste, *XXIIe Congrès National* (Paris, 1925), p. 61.

voted to party propaganda and items of interest to the working classes.

The Communist party, like the Action Française, is a revolutionary party, but it is better organized for electoral purposes. It has formed a trade-union movement of its own, the Confédération Générale du Travail Unitaire, which claimed a membership of about five hundred thousand in 1928.[62] The rayons and cellules of the Communist trade-unions are used for propagandistic purposes and for getting out the full Communist vote.[63] In 1920 the Communist party gained many converts at the expense of the Socialists. It even captured the principal Socialist daily, *L'Humanité*, which it has used effectively for the advancement of its cause. The party differs from the Socialist party in that it is more centralized and in that it is subservient to the Third, or Moscow, International. It draws its chief strength from the discontented elements in the Paris region and in the great urban industrial centers. Many of its supporters are real revolutionaries but others are citizens embittered by unfortunate local conditions such as high rents and severe economic competition. While the party polled over a million votes in 1928, or 11.4 per cent of the total vote cast, the twelve deputies it elected constituted only 2 per cent of the total membership of the Chamber. The election law of 1927 was deliberately planned to accomplish such a result as it concentrated the Communist strength in a few areas. The Communists call themselves the party of

[62] *La Vie ouvrière.*

[63] G. Gautherot, *Le Monde communiste* (Paris, 1925); Bourgin, Carrère, and Guérin, *op. cit.*, pp. 224–26; Zévaès, *op. cit.*, pp. 177 ff.

the workers and peasants, but their numbers in the rural sections of France are negligible.

In addition to the economic and social organizations which are directly affiliated with particular parties, the groups of the left have the support of leagues which cut across several party divisions. An example of such a league is the League of the Rights of Man (Ligue des Droits de l'Homme), which was founded in 1898 to defend Captain Dreyfus. This League publishes periodicals, books, and leaflets and holds meetings in order to protest against injustices done to persons whom it regards as innocent. It is definitely pacifist in its tendencies and draws its members from all the parties of the left except the Communist party.

An election campaign in France brings into play all the political parties and their allied organizations. The platforms of the candidates of the Radical-Socialist party, the Socialist party, and the Communist party have to be approved by the respective central organizations. The leaders of all the parties travel in different parts of the country making speeches. Wealthy candidates are expected to contribute liberally to the local organizations, and disguised forms of bribery are not unknown.[64] Posters are much more in evidence than in an American political campaign. The communes supply official billboards which are distributed equally among the parties. The party newspapers devote much of their space to political polemics. The great dailies which have no marked political tendencies also give considerable space to political

[64] R. Lafarge, *Rapport sur des opérations électorales du département des Hautes-Alpes* (5 mars 1926), No. 2705.

news. In 1919 the Socialist trade-unions tried to embarrass the conservative papers by calling a printers' strike. Street demonstrations are so likely to cause violence that they are generally forbidden. In the 1928 campaign airplanes were used to shower leaflets upon the outlying villages.

In France, as in England and the United States, there are the indifferent, the disillusioned, the ignorant, the sick, and the absent electors who do not go to the polls on election day. Indifference is probably the chief cause of electoral abstentions in France.[65] Disbelief in universal suffrage and fear of social pressure are among other causes for non-voting which might be cited in this country.[66] In France the procedure of voting is very simple, and there are no huge blanket ballots as in the United States. In national elections, the voter simply folds the ballot of the party he wishes to support, puts it in an opaque envelope, and deposits it in the ballot box. While adequate safeguards are not provided for the counting of the ballots, it is not likely that this fact leads to many

[65] J. Barthélemy (*Rapport sur le vote obligatoire,* p. 23) makes the following comment: "La grande source des abstentions, ce n'est d'ailleurs pas ou un sentiment réfléchi d'hostilité politique, ou le scrupule qui interdit de choisir entre les hommes et les programmes. C'est, beaucoup plus simplement, la paresse, le goût du moindre effort, compliqué de la conviction fausse du peu d'importance du vote individuel et de l'ignorance des conséquences, souvent funestes, de l'abstention."

[66] Ségot (*op. cit.,* pp. 50 ff.) cites the following internal causes of non-voting in France: indifference, disgust with politics, disbelief in universal suffrage, and ignorance. The external causes of non-voting are absence from commune on election day, fear of social pressure, and poor voting facilities.

electoral abstentions. Some French publicists have urged the adoption of such devices as absent voting, proportional representation, and compulsory voting to increase popular participation in elections.[67] There is no question that a system of absent voting would lessen the number of abstentions in such departments as Finistère, Gironde, Creuse, and Manche, where there are many electors whose daily occupation frequently interferes with their electoral duties. The soldiers in active service might also be allowed to vote under such a system. If the experience of other countries can be used as a guide, it is clear that a thoroughgoing system of proportional representation like the Swiss system, would increase the size of the poll at French elections.[68] As regards the third remedy for non-voting, the experience of Belgium shows that it would probably be efficacious,[69] but present political conditions in France do not appear favorable to its adoption. It is not exactly clear whether the conservatives or the radicals would profit from the application of such a remedy, and consequently both groups steer a little shy of it.[70]

The study of popular participation in French elections corroborates some of the conclusions reached in the study of British elections. In France, as in Great Britain, the

[67] Barthélemy, *op. cit., passim,* and his *Rapport sur le vote par correspondence* (18 mars 1924), No. 7335; N. Quiri, *Le Vote obligatoire* (Paris, 1908).

[68] See below, pp. 124–27.

[69] Barthélemy, *loc. cit.* Also see his *L'Organisation du suffrage et l'éxpérience belge* (Paris, 1912).

[70] Professor Barthélemy contended in his parliamentary report that the "moderates" would be aided by the compulsory vote (*Rapport sur le vote obligatoire,* pp. 16-18).

size of the poll under the single-member-district system of representation varies with the importance of the issues presented and the relative strength of the parties. In France the anticlerical issue and the challenge presented by the parties of the left have stirred the electorate profoundly. The French political parties, while not as well financed and as highly organized as American political parties, perform the function of getting the voters to the polls in a more efficient fashion. The French parties are founded on such vital religious, economic, and social interests that they do not lack in volunteer workers upon election day nor in effective press support the year round. In the post-war period, inflation, stabilization, the high cost of living, difficult questions of foreign policy, and the necessity for heavy taxes have also helped to keep the French voters alert.

CHAPTER III

GERMAN REICHSTAG ELECTIONS

In order to understand the factors determining the nature of popular participation in German elections since the Revolution of 1918 it will be necessary to review briefly the electoral conditions under the old Empire. The constitution of 1870 provided for the election of the Reichstag by all German male citizens twenty-five years of age and over. The elections were held on the single-member-district majority plan. If at the first balloting no candidate in a given district received a majority of the votes cast, then there was a second or run-off election at which only the two highest candidates were permitted to run. In the years following the original districting in 1870 there were great shifts in the population from the rural to the urban centers, but no changes were made in the electoral law. Consequently, the votes of the rural electors had much more weight than those of the urban electors.[1] Furthermore, the Reichstag, once elected, did not have the power to make and unmake ministries as do the British House of Commons and the French Chamber of Deputies.

The actual extent of popular participation in German elections is easy to ascertain because of the efficiency of the old bureaucracy. Election statistics have been more carefully kept in Germany than in England, France, or

[1] E. Bock, *Wahlstatistik* (Halle, 1919), p. 135. This book gives a careful analysis of pre-war elections statistics in Germany.

the United States, so the official returns show at once the proportion of the eligible voters that took part in the Reichstag elections. A month before the day set for the election, the local authorities would prepare the list of electors, which would be posted for eight days of protest. The electors were registered in the districts where they were at the time the lists were being made up. The efficiency of the local police records insured practically complete registration.[2] The official election statistics were carefully compiled by districts, parties, and density of population. On the basis of these figures the following charts and Table VI are compiled.[3]

The accompanying chart shows the extent and nature of popular participation in German Reichstag elections from 1884 to 1912. The segments represent the strength of the various parties and the proportion of non-voters. In other words, each bar diagram represents the distribution of the total electorate at a given election.

In spite of the secondary position held by the Reichstag in pre-war days, there was considerable interest shown in voting. From 1884 to 1912 the percentage of eligible voters that took part in German elections was just as high as in English and French elections.[4] If the Reichstag was not the chief organ of government it was the chief

[2] R. H. Wells, "Non-voting in Germany," *Historical Outlook,* XIX (1928), 267–69. See also his "Permanent Registration for Voting in German Cities," *National Municipal Review,* XVIII (1929), 623–28.

[3] *Statistisches Jahrbuch für das Deutsche Reich* (1925 and 1929) gives a summary of all returns since 1870. Fuller returns can be found in "Statistik des Deutschen Reichs," *Die Wahlen zum Reichstag,* for the particular election concerned.

[4] See above, pp. 5, 41.

organ of protest. In the eighties the size of the vote cast for the Center party showed the extent of the dissatisfaction with Bismarck's anti-Catholic policy.[5] In the twentieth century it was the Social Democratic party which gave the fullest expression to the new economic discontent. The rapid growth of this party went hand in hand with the diminishing number of non-voters. The

TABLE VI

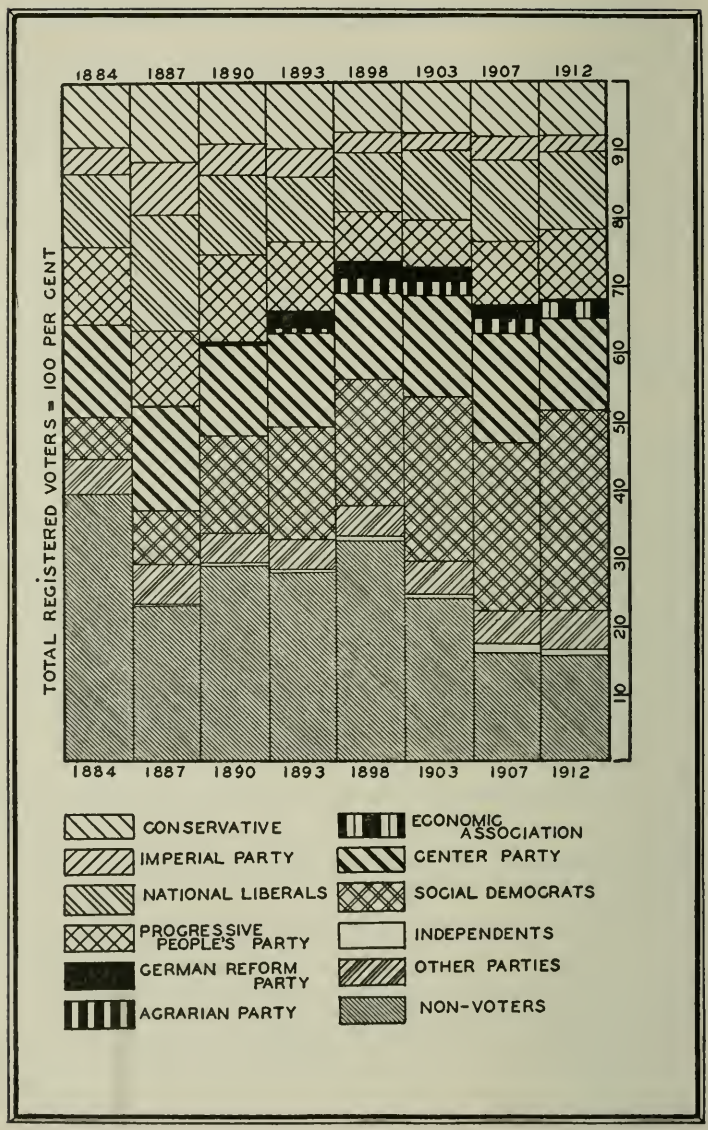
POPULAR PARTICIPATION IN GERMAN REICHSTAG ELECTIONS, 1884–1928

Year	Registered Voters	Total Vote Cast	Per Cent
1884	9,383,100	5,681,700	60.6
1887	9,769,800	7,570,700	77.5
1890	10,145,900	7,261,600	71.6
1893	10,628,300	7,702,300	72.5
1898	11,441,100	7,786,700	68.1
1903	12,531,200	9,533,800	76.1
1907	13,352,880	11,303,537	84.7
1912	14,442,387	12,260,731	84.9
1919 (National Assembly)	36,766,500	30,524,848	83.0
1920	35,652,907	28,463,581	79.2
1924 May	38,371,052	29,708,815	77.4
1924 December	38,952,645	30,688,766	78.8
1928	41,244,733	31,160,067	75.5

increase in size of the Social Democratic vote led the imperial chancellors to adopt vigorous counter-electoral measures. A brief discussion of the four elections immediately preceding the war will show how these factors influenced the size of the poll.[6]

[5] Bock (*op. cit.*, p. 134) gives a summary of the religious influences on voting. In the confessionally pure election districts the proportion of voters at Reichstag elections was substantially higher before 1890 where the predominant religion was Catholic.

[6] L. Bergsträsser, *Geschichte der politischen Parteiein in Deutschland* (Berlin, 1928); A. Erkelenz, *Zehn Jahre Deutsche Republik* (Berlin, 1928).


1884
1887
1890
1893
1898
1903
1907
1912
TOTAL REGISTERED VOTERS = 100 PER CENT
1%
2%
3%
4%
5%
6%
7%
8%
9%
CONSERVATIVE
IMPERIAL PARTY
NATIONAL LIBERALS
PROGRESSIVE PEOPLE'S PARTY
GERMAN REFORM PARTY
AGRARIAN PARTY
ECONOMIC ASSOCIATION
CENTER PARTY
SOCIAL DEMOCRATS
INDEPENDENTS
OTHER PARTIES
NON-VOTERS

In 1898 the Social Democrats had not captured a sufficient number of seats in the Reichstag to be a menace to the government. Chancellor Hohenlohe was too old to lead a vigorous attack against them, and the naval issue did not arouse the expected enthusiasm. Accordingly, popular interest in the election was slight, as is shown by the large proportion of non-voters. In 1903 the Social Democrats made substantial gains in the electorate and their representation increased from 56 to 81. There was an 8 per cent increase in the size of the poll at this election as compared with the previous one. In 1907 Chancellor von Bülow used the colonial issue as the basis for a violent attack upon the Socialists. The full power of the government press and the combined strength of the bourgeois elements were brought into play. The result was an 84.7 per cent poll of the total electorate. The Social Democrats increased their popular vote, but they lost some of their representatives due to the workings of the single-member-district majority system. The parties of the left entered the electoral contest of 1912 with renewed hope and a milder program. The failure of von Bülow's bloc policy, the débâcle of the attempt at electoral reform in Prussia,[7] the loss of prestige which the government suffered because of its foreign policy, and the discontent at the high tariff on foodstuffs made the way difficult for the new chancellor, Herr von Bethmann-Hollweg. Although the poll was a high one, the Chancellor was unable to stem the tide of protest and the Social Democrats won the largest Reichstag contingent they had ever secured. It is clear from this analysis that popular

[7] See below, p. 160.

participation in the Reichstag elections under the old Empire varied with the aggressiveness of the chancellor, the importance of the religious issues at stake, the vitality of the foreign policies under consideration, and the extent of discontent among the working and lower middle classes.

The single-member-district system used in Germany before the war had a slightly depressing effect upon the

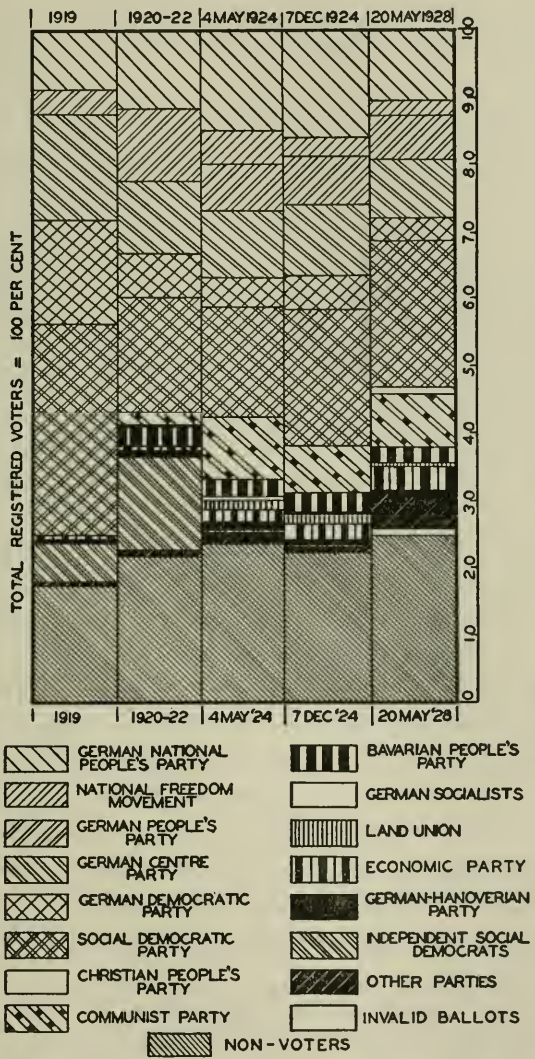
TABLE VII

POPULAR PARTICIPATION IN GERMAN REICHSTAG DISTRICTS CLASSIFIED BY CLOSENESS OF CONTEST, 1912

(First Balloting)

Per Cent of Total Votes Cast Received by Leading Candidate	Registered Voters	Votes Cast	Per Cent
20–29.9	78,658	64,985	82.61
30–39.9	2,363,195	2,042,811	86.44
40–49.9	4,108,444	3,544,479	86.27
50–59.9	4,519,134	3,895,823	84.34
60–69.9	1,431,357	1,191,146	83.21
70–79.9	1,431,773	1,148,669	80.23
80–89.9	870,030	690,734	79.39
90–100	184,430	148,940	80.75

size of the poll in one-party districts, but this was not as marked as one might expect. Table VII, which was made up in the same way as the tables given for Great Britain and France, shows that there is only a 6 per cent difference between the districts in which the contest was a close one and the districts in which it was a foregone conclusion. In Great Britain and France the difference was about twice as great. One explanation which can be made for this is that the large vote in Germany was a protest vote. One means of protesting was to roll up a huge national vote. This could be done in the districts


1919
1920-22
4 MAY 1924
7 DEC 1924
20 MAY 1928
TOTAL REGISTERED VOTERS = 100 PER CENT
0
1.0
2.0
3.0
4.0
5.0
6.0
7.0
8.0
9.0
10.0
1919
1920-22
4 MAY '24
7 DEC '24
20 MAY '28
GERMAN NATIONAL PEOPLE'S PARTY
NATIONAL FREEDOM MOVEMENT
GERMAN PEOPLE'S PARTY
GERMAN CENTRE PARTY
GERMAN DEMOCRATIC PARTY
SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY
CHRISTIAN PEOPLE'S PARTY
COMMUNIST PARTY
BAVARIAN PEOPLE'S PARTY
GERMAN SOCIALISTS
LAND UNION
ECONOMIC PARTY
GERMAN-HANOVERIAN PARTY
INDEPENDENT SOCIAL DEMOCRATS
OTHER PARTIES
INVALID BALLOTS
NON-VOTERS

which the protesting parties had no hope of winning as well as in the districts in which they had an even chance. However, the closer contests had a slightly stimulating effect upon the size of the poll.

The Revolution of 1918 brought about several far-reaching political changes. The electoral franchise was broadened to include all male and female German citizens who were twenty years of age or over, an entirely new set of electoral districts was laid out, and the principle of proportional representation was substituted for the majority-district system. In addition, the popularly elected assembly became the chief organ of the government. This meant that the political parties, representing the different pressure groups, would contend bitterly with each other for control of the Reichstag.

The election of the Constituent Assembly in 1919 was the first election at which these changes were put into effect. The new electoral law[8] provided for a list system of proportional representation similar to that in force in Belgium since 1899. The party managers nominated the candidates for the lists in the various districts, and the voter could choose between the rival lists in his district. The assignment of seats to the several lists was made on the basis of the D'Hondt quota.[9] Because of the temporary lease of power given to them by the downfall of the old régime, the Social Democrats hoped under the new law to secure a majority in their own right. The

[8] For the electoral law of November, 1918, see *Enemy Press Supplement,* December 19, 1918, cited in M. W. Graham, *New Governments of Central Europe* (New York, 1924), p. 436.

[9] See below, p. 100.

Spartacists, or left-wing Socialists, opposed the adoption of parliamentary forms and advocated the seizure of power by the workers and soldiers in a manner similar to that followed by the Bolsheviks in the Russian Revolution. On the other hand, the despair and fear of the conservative parties had given them the courage of desperation. A remarkable demonstration of popular interest in voting followed. In spite of the tremendous increase in the size of the electorate and the removal of former governmental pressure, 83.0 per cent of the eligible voters as compared with 84.9 per cent in 1912 took part in the election. In the new electorate the women outnumbered the men in the ratio of 100 to 117. In England and America the first trial of women suffrage was accompanied by an enormous increase in non-voting. In Germany, however, the proportion of eligible women that voted was about the same as that of the men, the percentages being 82.4 and 82.5, respectively.[10] The traditional age of civil majority in Germany is twenty-five. The young men under twenty-five years of age constituted the group which made relatively the poorest showing, only 70.5 per cent of them taking part in the election. On the other hand, 84.8 per cent of the male electors twenty-five years of age and over voted. In other words, if the election had been on the basis of the old franchise the participation would have been as high as it ever was under the old Empire. The Social Democrats polled a huge vote but their proportion

[10] *Die Wahlen zur verfassunggebenden Deutschen Nationalversammlung am 19. Jan. 1919,* p. 29. The election returns by sex were not quite complete. This explains why the per cent for the total is higher than for either sex.

of the total vote was no greater than in 1912, partly due to internal dissensions.

The electoral law used for the Constituent Assembly elections did not give entire satisfaction. While proportionality was secured within the districts, the law did not take into account the large remainders that were left in some districts. Before the Reichstag elections were held in 1920 a new electoral law was enacted which provided for a more complete application of the principles of proportional representation. The essential feature of the new system[11] was a uniform quota which was fixed at sixty thousand for the entire country. As many deputies were allotted to each constituency list as there were quotas in its vote. But the use of the quota did not stop here. The remainders left over were grouped by regions, and seats were allotted to the regional lists applying the same quota. Finally, the unused votes of each party in all the regions were added together and counted in the same fashion toward the election of national lists. In the regional and national assignments of lists no party was entitled to more seats than it had already secured from the districts. This last device was adopted to check the multiplication of minor parties. Except for this rule the law carried out in full the principle of proportionality.

The election issues under the new régime were far different from those which had dominated the field in the pre-war days. The Social Democrats, failing to secure a

[11] Election law of April 27, 1920. This law is based on the Baden system of proportional representation, Baden being the state which first put the principle into practice. For the law and regulations see G. Kaisenberg, *Die Wahl zum Reichstag* (Berlin, 1924).

majority in their own right in 1919, had formed a moderate left government with the Center party and the Democrats. This government had a particularly hard burden to bear. The humiliating circumstances under which the Treaty of Versailles was signed and the mishandling of the Kapp uprising encouraged the militant right. The Social Democratic party was no longer an organ of protest, and it was torn by internal dissensions. The enthusiasm of the first days of the Revolution had worn off, and it appeared that the danger of the Socialists putting their program into effect was a remote one. Popular participation in the Reichstag elections of 1920 was smaller than in the elections to the Constituent Assembly, but it was high as compared with that in English and American elections. Of the eligible electors under the new law, 79.2 per cent cast their ballots. The Independent Socialists gained at the expense of the Social Democrats but the combined strength of the two factions remained about the same. The Democrats suffered the most severe losses, while the German People's party made the most marked gains.

The four years following the 1920 elections were distressing ones for the German people. The comparatively stable ministries of the Hohenzollern régime were no longer obtainable. Under the republic the average life of a ministry was less than a year. The inflation policy, the subsequent hardships of stabilization, and the occupation of the Ruhr strengthened the parties of the extremes. Under these circumstances came the call for the Reichstag elections in May, 1924. The fact that 77.4 per cent of the registered vote was cast showed that a high interest

was still maintained in voting. The Social Democrats lost heavily to the Communists, while the Democratic and German People's parties lost to the German Nationalist party (monarchist).

The fall of the Poincaré government shortly after the May election altered the face of the situation. The London agreement brought a partial evacuation of the Ruhr, the restoration of the exiles to their homes, and the return of the Rhineland railways. The government made up of the moderate parties decided to make a new appeal to the electorate in December on the issue of the execution of the Dawes plan. The results of the election showed the wisdom of their appeal. The voters responded in slightly larger numbers than in May (78.8 per cent voted) and the moderate parties gained in strength. The Communists were the heaviest losers.

The elections to the Reichstag held on May 20, 1928, apparently did not arouse as much popular interest as the previous elections held under the Baden system of proportional representation (75.5 per cent voted). One of the reasons for the slight decrease in the percentage of the eligible vote cast was the inaccuracy of the voters' lists in certain places. In spite of the system of continuous registration of all persons in Germany with the local authorities, the voters' lists are not entirely purged of dead weight.[12] However, even if certain allowances are made for errors in the voters' lists, there was a decline in the poll. The 1928 election was the first which turned more on domestic than on foreign issues. The outgoing cab-

[12] See my article, "The German Referendum on the Princes' Property," *American Political Science Review*, XXI (1927), 119–23.

inet, which was formed on the basis of a coalition of the parties of the middle and the right, had shown signs of disintegration at the beginning of the year when a strong disagreement developed between the People's party and the Center party on educational policies. The Nationalists were split and could not use the rallying cries which they had found effective in 1924 because they had committed themselves to government policies. Instead of advocating openly the restoration of the monarchy, the Nationalists sought for more power for the Reich president. The parties of the left took advantage of the labor discontent, the high cost of living, and the desire for peace. None of these issues had the stirring power possessed by the inflation and foreign-intervention issues. While the parties engaged in intensive propaganda, not much excitement was aroused during the election campaign.[13] It is also probable that the original stimulating effect of the system of proportional representation was wearing off. The relative strength of the six or seven largest parties was well known, and it was a foregone conclusion that no party would win a majority of the seats. The government formed after the election must of necessity be a coalition government. Besides this, a strong discontent was felt at the arbitrary powers of the party leaders in the nomination of party candidates. The individual voter had no opportunity to indicate his personal preferences as between candidates on his own ticket nor could he scratch his ticket. Finally, there was also

[13] J. K. Pollock, "The German Elections of 1928," *ibid.*, XXII (1928), 698–707.

the feeling of general disillusionment regarding the accomplishments of the republic in the economic field.

Before describing the nature of the party organizations and their electoral machinery, a word of explanation should be given regarding the two ballotings for president in 1925. The German president is elected directly by a popular vote. As the law is worded, two pollings are made virtually necessary.[14] At the first polling a clear majority is required for election. If no candidate receives this majority a second polling is held at which a plurality is sufficient. In 1925 the popular participation in the first balloting was considerably smaller than in any of the preceding Reichstag elections under the new constitution. The chief reason for this was the fact that each of the principal parties put up a candidate of its own and there was little chance of any of them securing a majority. Only 68.9 per cent of the voters participated in this election.[15] The three republican groups, the Centrists, the Democrats, and the Socialists, came nearer polling their full vote than did the conservative groups. Matters were different at the second and determining election. The nomination of Hindenburg by the Nationalists stirred the political passions of all the groups. His personality and patriotic utterances made a great appeal, especially among the women voters. The republican groups united upon the candidacy of Marx, a leader of the Center party. Catholic though he was, he could not draw the support of the Bavarian Catholics.

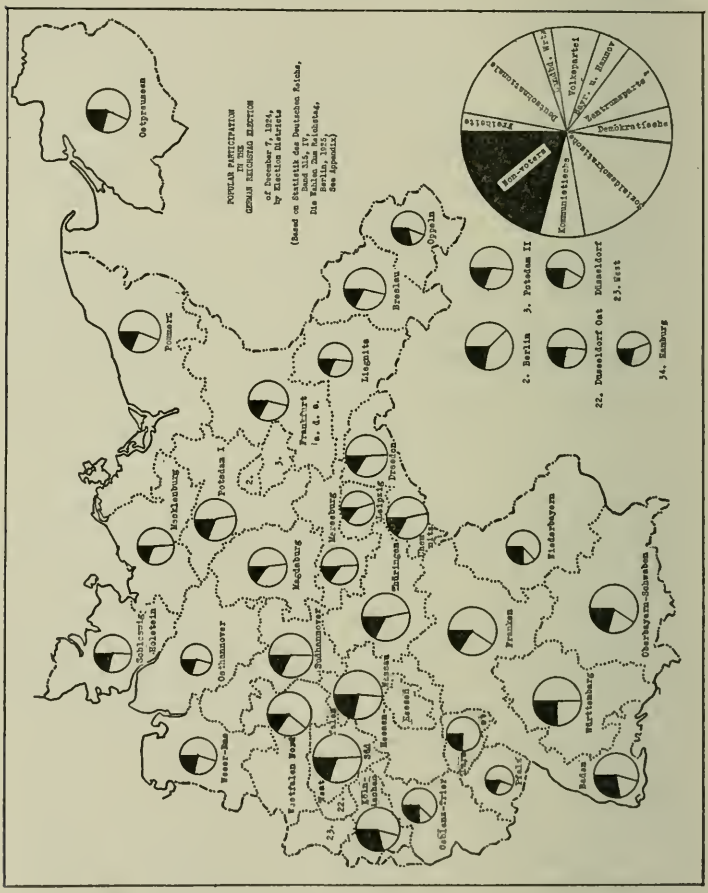
[14] G. Kaisenberg, *Die Wahl des Reichspräsidenten* (Berlin, 1921).

[15] "Statistik des Deutschen Reichs," *Die Wahl des Reichspräsidenten am 29. März und 26. April 1925,* p. 6.

The Communists refused to co-operate with the other parties and maintained a candidate of their own. The popular participation in the election was about the same as in a Reichstag election (77.6 per cent). Hindenburg won with a million plurality over Marx. Among the reasons for the larger polls in the German presidential elections than in American presidental elections are the direct-election system and the thoroughgoing organization of economic groups in Germany.

We now come to the consideration of the geographical distribution of political parties in Germany and the nature of their internal organization. The accompanying map gives a geographical representation of the results of the Reichstag elections of December, 1924, by electoral districts. The size of the circles are in proportion to the number of registered voters in each electoral district. The blackened sector represents the proportion of non-voters while the line separates the Socialist and Communist voters from all the other voters. The map shows that there is some variation in the proportion of non-voters as between the different districts, but this variation is not as sharply marked as in England, France, or the United States. The German system of proportional representation is one of the factors that helps to maintain a high poll all over the country. However, there are certain differences. In half-a-dozen districts one-quarter or over of the qualified electors failed to vote. With the exception of Oppeln, which is on the border of Poland, these districts are in the eastern (Köln-Aachen, Koblenz-Trier) and southern (Baden, Niederbayern, Württemberg) parts of Germany where the parties of the left are very weak. In

some of the electoral subdivisions of Baden the poll actually fell below 50 per cent of the electorate. On the other



hand, in such districts in Central Germany as Magdeburg, Leipzig, Chemnitz, and Dresden the poll was high partly because the Socialists and Communists were relatively

strong.[16] As in electoral districts in England and France, popular interest is great when the struggle between the radical and conservative parties is a close one.

The German Nationalist party made steady gains under the republic until the election of 1928, at which it polled 4,380,029 votes, or 14.2 per cent of the total vote cast. It is next in size to the Social Democratic party.[17] The old Conservative party, together with the Free Conservatives, the Anti-Semitics, the Christian Socialists, and some members of the middle parties, furnished the basis for the new party organization.[18] It is frankly monarchist and militarist in principle, and it draws its chief support from Protestant elements in northern and eastern Prussia. Its gains since the war have been realized principally because of its strategic position as the party of opposition during a period of economic crises and humiliating struggles with foreign countries, because of its economic power in agrarian and industrial regions, and because of its political influence with the old German bureaucracy. In the 1924 elections the landlords and farmers wielded great influence through their organization the Landbund, which grew out of the old Bund der Land-

[16] Compulsory voting is used in the states of Lippe and Mecklenburg-Strelitz, but the poll is not appreciably higher in these states than in the rest of the country.

[17] On the organization of German political parties see P. Oswald, "Politische Parteien und Presse," *Der deutsche Staatsbürger* (Stuttgart, 1924); O. Hesnard, *Les Partis politiques en allemagne* (Paris, 1923); J. K. Pollock, "The German Party System," *American Political Science Review,* XXIII (1929), 859–91.

[18] W. Graef, *Werden und Wollen der Deutschnationalen Volkspartei* (Berlin, 1924).

wirte founded in 1893. There were also German Nationalist trade-unions, claiming a million members, and special organizations for public officials, lawyers, students, and small business men. The party is financially sustained by the landed nobility, the princely houses, the agrarians, and the large industrialists. While it has no official party newspapers, it maintains an extensive propaganda bureau and it has the support of a large number of powerful journals, many of which belong to the large Hugenberg newspaper syndicate.[19]

The German People's party, known in the pre-war days as the National Liberal party, stands next on the right to the Nationalist party. It is monarchist in tendency although not as openly so as the Nationalist party. Its principal strength comes from the Protestant industrial areas of Eastern and Central Germany. In 1928 it was the fifth largest party in the entire country. Some of its leaders are very influential in the National Union of German Industries. It also receives some support from the Christian Socialists, the small landowners, and the middle class. It has a highly centralized organization based upon the thirty-five electoral districts. There are two hundred paid secretaries who do intensive work in the local areas. For funds this party draws upon the large industrialists. It has important newspaper support from such journals as the *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, a paper with industrial backing.

The Center party, now as in the pre-war days, owes its strength to its connections with the Roman Catholic

[19] L. Bernhard, *Der Hugenberg-Konzern* (Berlin, 1928).

church in Germany.[20] In spite of the dissension of the Bavarian wing in 1920, it has maintained its position as an important middle party through many adverse situations. At the election of the Reichstag in 1928 it received 12.1 per cent of the total vote cast. Its leaders have kept together its many diverse and sometimes conflicting elements by a policy of opportunism. Its principal strongholds lie in Eastern Germany. In the industrial areas, Catholic trade-unions have been organized to combat the proletarian menace to religion,[21] in the rural areas associations have been founded to promote the economic and social well-being of the peasants, and in the cities the people's union has been established to preach social solidarity to the bourgeoisie. The party structure is based upon local, state, provincial, legislative, and national unions. There is a general secretariat which directs the activities of the propagandists. The press of the party is closely knit together in a union called the Augustinusverein. The *Germania* is the principal daily paper of the party in Berlin. Some of the leaders of the party, like Wirth and Marx, have played an important part in the life of the republic.

The former Progressive party and the left wing of the old National Liberal party united in 1918 to form the German Democratic party. This party draws its principal support from the Republican, non-Christian,

[20] K. Bachem, *Geschichte der Zentrumspartei* (Köln, 1927).

[21] The Arbeiter-Vereine have not grown as rapidly as the Deutscher-Gewerkschaftsbund made up of Protestant and Catholic workers.

and secular elements of the middle class.[22] At the elections to the Constituent Assembly it appeared to be a party of great promise, but it has steadily lost in strength and prestige. At the 1928 election it received 1,504,158 votes, which was 4.9 per cent of the total vote cast. The inflation policy, with its subsequent proletarianization of the middle classes, undermined the very foundations of this party. In its moderate attack against socialism, the party seeks the aid of the artisans, the employers, and the peasants. It has organized local, regional, professional, and student groups, but it has failed to hold its adherents.[23] While there are some wealthy Democrats, the party itself has lacked funds. The Democratic press shows considerable vitality with important daily papers in Berlin, Hamburg, and Frankfurt and a press union which exercises considerable influence over the councils of the party.

Although the Social Democratic party has lost considerably in numbers and influence since 1918, it is still the most powerful single group and it maintains a formidable electoral organization.[24] In the first balloting for president in 1925, its vote was proportionately greater than that of any of the other parties, indicating that its leaders maintained excellent discipline. In 1927 the party had 867,000 dues-paying members, 150,000 of whom were women.[25] At the 1928 election it polled 29.8

[22] K. Hattingen, *Geschichte des deutschen Liberalismus* (Berlin).

[23] A. Erkelenz, *Demokratie und Parteiorganisation* (Berlin, 1924).

[24] R. Lipinski, *Die Sozialdemokratie* (Berlin, 1927).

[25] This is about the membership of 1911. It is 150,000 less than the membership shortly before the war, and 40 per cent of that

per cent of the total vote cast. The strength of the party lies in the fact that 80 per cent of its members are influential in the trade-union movement either as secretaries or as other employees.[26] Some of its most influential leaders are at the same time important trade-union officials.[27] Its influence is also felt in such working-class groups as the workingmen's sport organizations, the consumers' co-operatives, and the workingmen's benefit societies. It also plays a part in the peace organizations and in the republican Black-Red-Gold Banner society. The party itself is divided into thirty-two regions, which in turn are subdivided into local districts of which there are 8,240. The funds of the party are raised from membership dues, which amount to about five marks annually per person.[28] The 188 Social Democratic daily newspapers are with few exceptions the property of the party.[29] This situation is not found in any of the parties of the middle and right. Although subscriptions to the Socialist press are not compulsory upon party members, the relationship between the members of the party and the readers of the party journals is a close one. The losses suffered by the party since the Revolution can be attributed to the splitting-off of the more radical elements, the loss of many of the bourgeois elements which

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of the Social Democrats and the Independent Social Democrats in 1920 (see *Jahrbuch der deutschen Sozialdemokratie* [1927], p. 185).

[26] *Die Sozialdemokratischen Parteien* (Berlin, 1926), pp. 31 ff.

[27] Such as Leipart, Otto Braun, Wels, Scheidemann.

[28] *Die Sozialdemokratischen Parteien,* p. 38.

[29] L. Kantorowicz, *Die Sozialdemokratische Presse Deutschlands* (Tübingen, 1922); *Jahrbuch der deutschen Sozialdemokratie* (1927).

first supported it, and a general disillusionment regarding socialism.

The German Communist party grew out of the revolt in 1914 of a small group of Socialists opposed to any sort of participation in the war.[30] These Socialists first called themselves Spartacists, but shortly after the Armistice they adopted the name "Communist party." Aided by intense Russian communist propaganda in 1920, the Communists won over the left wing of the Independent Socialists. As the chart shows, the party reached its greatest electoral strength in May, 1924, when economic discontent was widespread. In 1928 it received 10.6 per cent of the votes cast at the Reichstag elections. Like the Social Democratic party it lays down hard-and-fast rules for party membership. Its dues are around twenty marks a year. In 1925 it had 150,000 members, most of them young men in the great urban centers of Germany. The party has about 4,000 local units but in many districts the Communists remain in the moderate trade-unions, hoping at some time to capture control of the unions.[31] In contrast with the other parties, the Communist party refuses to make any compromises in order to establish a government. It also refuses to co-operate with the other parties of the left in the presidential election. This policy is due in part to Russian influences, which control the Third International to which the party belongs. The Communist press like the Social Democratic

[30] On its organization see Ossip Piatnitzki, *Organisatorische Fragen* (Hamburg, 1925).

[31] The Internationale Arbeiter-Hilfe is normally supported by the party.

press is the property of the party and is used for strictly propagandistic purposes.

In addition to the six largest German political parties which have been discussed above there are many smaller parties, the most important of which are the Economic party, the Bavarian People's party, and the National Socialist party (Adolf Hitler group). The Economic party, which has been growing slowly since its founding in 1920, is made up of small craftsmen and others who are strongly opposed to socialistic experiments. It stands for the protection of the interests of the industrial and commercial middle classes. The Bavarian People's party, as has been indicated, split off from the Center party, whose lead it generally follows, though more in favor of states' rights and the monarchical form of government. The National Socialist party is a German "Fascist" group, which is extremely nationalistic, anti-Semitic, and militaristic. It stands at the right of the German National People's party. There are many other minor parties which might be mentioned but these are largely the so-called "splinter parties" (*Splitterparteien*), none of which polled 2 per cent of the vote cast in 1928. The electoral significance of these small parties is that they make a special appeal to particular interests, such as the small peasants and the renters. In 1928 some 1,700,000 votes were cast for tickets which secured no representatives. Most of these votes were probably protest votes against hard economic conditions and the failure of the larger parties to remedy them.

The multiplicity of the German political parties accounts in part for the peculiar character of German election campaigns. The elections are not struggles between

the ins and outs as in Anglo-Saxon countries but are rather maneuvers of the different groups for strategic positions. The parties are composed of more or less coherent economic and social groups which are organized on almost military lines with innumerable associations, periodic congresses, systematically supplied campaign coffers, and centrally directed press agencies. Party membership in Germany is taken more seriously than in England, France, or the United States. The members are expected to subscribe to the party principles, to pay the party dues, and to offer their services as volunteers during an election campaign. This is perhaps one of the secrets of the high polls at Reichstag elections. In Germany, there are some paid party secretaries, but these do not have the importance that the election agents have in England or the professional politicians in the United States. In Germany, the clergy, the landlords, the industrialists, and the trade-union officials can call upon the services of great armies of volunteers to see that the voters come to the polls on election day.

The huge German bureaucracy, inherited from the old régime, has immense possibilities for political exploitation. Some of the admirers of the former Empire prophesied that the coming of republicanism would ruin this splendid edifice, which had been specially protected by the Emperor.[32] However, there has been no spoils system in Germany as in the United States, nor have there been petty politicians who prey upon the body politic. The practice of drafting public employees for election service

[32] H. Delbrück, *Government and the Will of the People* (New York, 1923), p. 144.

has not yet taken root in Germany.[33] It is true that many of the higher officials belong to the parties of the right and that the great mass of the lesser employees vote with the parties of the middle and of the left, but the attempts to use the bureaucracy for partisan ends have so far failed. The professional associations of civil servants offer considerable protection against political encroachments upon the public services. One can say that the German public employees have again found their place and have successfully guarded themselves against the parties.

It has been indicated that the participation of the German women in the elections to the Constituent Assembly was about as high as that of the men. In subsequent elections, the ratio of the eligible women who voted declined slightly. Complete records of the male and the female vote were not kept in later elections, but partial returns for the Reichstag election of May, 1924, show that 6.4 per cent less of the female than of the male electors voted.[34] A detailed study of non-voting in the city of Mülheim an der Ruhr showed a sex differential of 8.1 per cent in favor of the men.[35] This study also showed that the married women show more interest in voting than do the unmarried women. The emotional excitement that was

[33] O. Koellreutter, *Die politischen Parteien im modernen Staate* (Breslau, 1926), p. 82.

[34] "Die Wahlbeteiligung bei den Reichstagswahlen am 4. Mai 1924 nach Altersstufen und Geschlect der Wähler," *Wirtschaft und Statistik* (Berlin: Statistischen Reichsamt, 1926), No. 7. There were 372,667 eligible voters in the sample.

[35] Mülheim an der Ruhr, in *Statistik der Wahlen zum Reichstage 1919–1924 (December) und die Reichspräsidentenwahlen 1925.*

present in the 1919 elections was lacking in subsequent elections. However, the voting record of the German women is still superior to that of the English or American women.[36] Among the reasons for this superiority are the great interest in politics shown by the German employed women, the loyalty which German women in the home show to their men folks, and the special activities of the parties in organizing the women. Women are accepted as members in the parties, and there are special committees, journals, and activities organized for the women.

The analysis of the 1919 election returns showed that the young men under twenty-five years of age were much less interested in voting than the other age and sex groups.[37] Partial returns for the elections of May, 1924, show that the organization of young male voters has been greatly improved. In the sample analyzed 82.9 per cent of the male voters under twenty-five took part in the election. This record was only slightly behind the other groups (87.9 per cent of all the male electors voted).[38] The Mülheim study indicated that the married men show much more interest in voting than do the bachelors.[39] However, the parties of the left have captured many young bachelors. All the German political parties have developed active young people's organizations. Such societies as the nationalist Bismarck Jugend, the Zentrum Jugend, and the socialist Arbeiter-Jugend perform important propagandistic and recruiting services.

[36] See Merriam and Gosnell, *op. cit.*, p. 26, and above, p. 18.

[37] See above.

[38] Statistischen Reichsamt, *op. cit.*

[39] Mülheim an der Ruhr, *op. cit.*

In the election campaign itself the Germans employ practically all the devices used in other democratic countries. The press, the platform, the motion-picture screen, the billboard, and the personal canvass are all utilized by the German parties to bring their supporters to the polls.[40] The German election system, which minimizes personalities and stresses party loyalties, determines in part the use to which these various devices are put. Considerable stress is placed upon demonstrations of all kinds. Campaign meetings are sometimes held in beer gardens for party members only, but at other times they are open to all. There are no open-air debates such as one might find in an English town square during a hot campaign. Much attention is paid to election posters, which are of a serious character, many of them being highly artistic in contrast to the burlesque character of most of the English and French election posters. The campaign parade, which is almost unknown in England, is a common device in Germany. The Teutonic fondness for military parades under the imperial régime may in part be responsible for this. So bitter is the feeling between the rival groups of party demonstrators that violent clashes between them are not uncommon around election time.

While popular participation in German Reichstag elections has declined somewhat since the war, it has not gone below a comparatively high level, considering the size of the electorate. Among the causes contributing to this result have been the vitality of the issues presented, the convenience of the voting arrangements,

[40] While the radio may not be used for partisan purposes, it is employed by non-partisan groups to get out the vote.

the system of representation, and the strength of the parties. The issues grew out of the disturbed economic and social conditions following the war and would have spurred the voters to the polls under any sort of voting system. However, the voting system gave free expression to the various rival currents. The party managers realized that their strength in the Reichstag depended directly upon their strength with the voters. The voters, on the other hand, made some complaints about the arbitrary power of the party leaders in selecting candidates, but they knew that their votes would count toward the election of their party delegation. The German political parties are more highly organized than the French and just as well organized as the British. In spite of its great size, the functioning of the German electorate is as good as that of the British electorate.

CHAPTER IV

BELGIAN NATIONAL ELECTIONS

The little country of Belgium offers a very profitable field for the study of electoral problems. It is the land where such devices as limited suffrage, plural voting, compulsory voting, and proportional representation have been given a thorough trial. Linguistic, religious, and economic divisions have given the Belgians strong political feelings, and their problem has been to find an electoral system which would give freest outlet for these feelings. In the northern part of Belgium the language of the common people is Flemish, a dialect of Dutch, and agriculture is the chief industry. The Flemish peasants are Catholic almost without exception. The southern part of Belgium is inhabited largely by the Walloons, a people who speak French or a dialect of that language and who are chiefly engaged in manufacturing pursuits. In 1920 there were some 3,790,000 Flemings as compared with 3,268,000 Walloons.[1] While Catholicism is the predominant religion in all parts of the country, the proportion of free thinkers is much larger in Wallonia than in Flanders.

Throughout a large part of the nineteenth century many political differences were avoided in Belgium by disfranchising large elements of the population.[2] The original constitution of 1830 contained graduated property qualifications for voting. In 1848 these provisions

[1] *Annuaire statistique de la Belgique* (1923–24), p. xxi.

[2] J. Barthélemy (*L'Organisation du suffrage et l'expérience belge* [Paris, 1912]) has the best account of suffrage changes.

gave way to flat-rate property qualifications, under which about 2 per cent of the population could vote. It was not until 1893 that the suffrage was put upon a broad basis. In that year the trade-unionists, growing in numbers and in power, brought pressure to bear upon the government by a general strike.[3] A compromise law which provided for manhood suffrage with plural voting was the outcome of this agitation. One vote was given to every male citizen twenty-five years of age and over who had resided in his commune for one year; one additional vote for every man of thirty-five years or more, married or widower with children, paying five francs direct taxes on the house he occupied; one additional vote to every man of twenty-five who owned two thousand francs' worth of real estate or whose annual income from government bonds was one hundred francs; and two additional votes for every man who graduated from an institution of higher learning or who practiced one of a number of professions. In national elections each elector was limited to three votes. This act increased the electorate tenfold, raising it from 138,000 in 1893 to 1,355,000 in 1894.[4] The total number of votes inscribed in 1894 was over 2,000,000. The system of plural voting favored the rural districts as against the urban districts.[5] By far the greater proportion of the

[3] E. Vandervelde, *Le Parti Ouvrier Belge* (Brussels, 1925), chap. iii.

[4] *L'Annuaire statistique de la Belgique* (1913).

[5] M. Sauveur, *Statistique du vote plural en Belgique* (Brussels, 1908), pp. 404–5. In communes of less than 2,000 inhabitants there were 162 votes for every 100 electors and in communes of 10,000 inhabitants or more there were only 150 votes for every 100 electors.

plural votes went to electors fulfilling the property qualifications. The poorer classes in both the Flemish and Wallonian parts of Belgium were at a distinct disadvantage. It is not to be wondered at that the Socialists continued their agitation for manhood suffrage, "pure and simple," or one vote for each individual voter.

The movement for the abolition of plural voting in Belgium gained a great impetus from the events of the Great War. All the three principal parties of Belgium—the Catholics, the Liberals, and the Socialists—had united to form a government of national defense.[6] The Ministry of the Sacred Union secured the adoption of a law in 1919 which did away with the plural vote, lowered the age requirement for voters from twenty-five to twenty-one, reduced the residence requirement from one year to six months, and gave a limited number of women the right to vote in national elections. These changes were made permanent by a constitutional amendment in 1921, which also granted the legislature power to extend the suffrage by a two-thirds vote to all women in national elections. This reform raised the number of electors for the Chamber of Representatives from 1,791,139 in 1914 to 2,102,710 in 1919,[7] making an electorate of about 28 per cent of the total population. The limited suffrage granted to women in national elections only enfranchised 11,823 persons in 1919. The influence of these changes upon the fortunes of the parties was marked. The abolition of plural voting reduced the electoral strength of the Catholics and Lib-

[6] Vandervelde, *op. cit.*, chap. vii.

[7] *L'Annuaire statistique* (1923-24), p. xli.

erals while it greatly strengthened the position of the Socialists.

The suffrage provisions have so affected the other electoral experiments in Belgium that it has been necessary to consider them first. Shortly after the system of plural voting was inaugurated the operation of the majority block system demanded the attention of the minority groups. The Liberals had been especially heavy losers in the elections of 1894, and they threatened to form a coalition with the Socialists. The Socialists again brought pressure to bear upon Parliament by a general strike. The Catholics were influenced by this situation to pass a law in 1899 which provided for proportional representation according to the system worked out by Professor D'Hondt of Ghent.[8] The country was divided into thirty electoral districts for the election of the Chamber. The number of representatives returned from each district varied from 3 to 26. In assigning seats to the various lists in a given constituency a special quota was used which allotted at once just the right number of seats. This quota was obtained by dividing the total vote of each list in turn by 1, 2, 3, 4, etc. The resulting quotients were arranged in the order of their magnitude, and the seats were assigned to the highest quotients. This is the same as saying that the first seat was given to the list with the largest vote, and each additional seat went to the list which would have with that seat the highest average vote per seat. The D'Hondt quota was the last quotient for which an assignment was made. That this system is very fair in the assignment of seats within a given district

[8] Barthélemy, *L'Organisation du Suffrage, etc.*, Part III.

is evidenced by the fact that it has been copied widely in Europe.[9] However, the result in the nation at large was not always strictly proportional because no account was taken of the large remainders that were left in some of the districts. In 1919 the law was changed so that the remainders could be combined within each province. The first assignment of seats is now made within each district by the simple quota. This quota is obtained by dividing the total number of votes cast by the number of seats to be filled. The seats remaining are distributed on the basis of the total vote received by each of the parties in the province as a whole in accordance with the D'Hondt principle, that is, each of the additional seats is assigned to the party which would show most votes per seat if allowed one more. While the new rules of *apparentement*, as they are called, have not given entire satisfaction[10] and there is some criticism of the way in which winning candidates are picked,[11] there is no doubt that proportional representation has had a decided influence upon popular participation in Belgian national elections. The extent of this influence cannot be measured because compulsory voting came in Belgium before proportional representation.

The system of compulsory voting was first applied on a national scale in Belgium. The steps that led to the adoption in 1893 are of special interest in this study.

[9] It is now used for parliamentary elections in Sweden, Denmark, Jugo-Slavia, and Portugal, and in modified form in Switzerland.

[10] L. Dupriez cited in C. G. Hoag and G. H. Hallett, *Proportional Representation* (New York, 1926), p. 430.

[11] H. Dumont, "L'Election du 5 avril," *Le Flambeau,* No. 5 (1925), p. 49.

The number of abstentions in Belgium under the old limited-suffrage régime was not excessive as compared with English or French elections of the same period. In the national legislative elections of 1870 there were 107,099 electors registered and 79,083 voted, or 80 per cent. In 1884 only 70 per cent of the registered vote was cast, but in 1892 there was an 84 per cent vote.[12] These fluctuations are about the same as those in France during the same period. However, in Belgium there was considerable discussion of the danger of political apathy and of the inconvenience of urging the lethargic voters to come to the polls.[13] The members of the National Assembly of 1894 were especially impressed with the problem and began to consider ways and means for handling the new masses of voters that would swell the ranks of the parties when the universal-suffrage law went into effect. It was estimated that the electorate would be ten times larger. How were the electors who had never voted before and the electors whose voting power was to be considerably diminished to be impressed with the importance of exercising the franchise? The conservatives in the National Assembly regarded it as especially important to see that the moderate elements polled their full strength. The members of the Assembly, being practical politicians, looked upon compulsory voting as a means for saving them the trouble and expense of keeping after the voters to see that they went to the urns. It would also do away with the practice employed by some of the party agents of bribing hostile voters to stay away from the polls.

[12] *Annuaire statistique de la Belgique.*

[13] J. Barthélemy, *L'Organisation du suffrage et l'expérience belge* (Paris, 1912), pp. 475 ff.

In this respect compulsory voting was looked upon as a guaranty of the secrecy of the vote. On the opposite side of the question it was argued that the suffrage was a right which the voter should be allowed to exercise or not as he saw fit, that those who refrain from voting on account of ignorance should not be compelled to vote, and that difficulties encountered in enforcing the law might mean a breakdown of justice.[14] The arguments in favor of compulsory voting prevailed and the system went into operation in 1894.

The determination of the penalties for failure to vote presented some difficulties. If the penalties were too heavy, the system would be very unpopular; if too light, it would be ineffective. It was decided to have the penalties enforced by the justices of the peace, who would have final jurisdiction over the matter.[15] The first non-excused abstention was punishable by a reprimand or a fine of from one to three francs. The second offense within six years was punishable by a fine of from three to twenty-five francs; the third offense within ten years by the same fine and public posting; and the fourth offense within fifteen years by disfranchisement for ten years in addition to a fine and public posting. At the time these penalties were considered light and since the Great War they have been made ridiculously low by reason of the fall in the value of the franc.[16]

In the elections to the Belgian Chamber of Representa-

[14] J. Barthélemy in his *Rapport au Chambre des Députés sur le vote obligatoire* (Session de 1922), No. 4738.

[15] A. Delcroix, *Recueil des lois électorales belges* (Brussels, 1925), art. 223 of the Electoral Code.

[16] In 1925 a fine of 25 francs would be about 75 cents.

tives in 1894, almost 95 per cent of the registered vote was cast. As long as the system of plural voting was in operation the participation in elections to the Chamber never fell below 92 per cent. Professor Barthélemy estimates that if allowance were made for justifiable abstentions such as sickness, death, absence from the commune, the number of abstentions from pure indifference would be about 1 per cent for the elections prior to the war.[17] A complete presentation of the results is given in Table VIII.

It is apparent that universal suffrage "pure and simple" brought an increase in the absolute and relative number of abstentions in 1919. The disappearance of plural voting may have had something to do with this. The election figures prior to the war were not based upon the actual number of voters but upon the number of choices. Since some of the voters had as many as three choices, the proportion of the votes not given out to the total number of votes gives only approximately the percentage of abstentions. Those with three choices were probably more likely to vote than those with one. On the other hand, since 1919 each voter has one vote and the statistics give the exact number of voters and non-voters. In addition, the lowering of the age limit may account for part of the decrease in the vote. Whenever careful studies have been made, as in Germany and Switzerland, it has been shown that there is a pronounced indifference toward voting among young men.[18] Even without making allowance for changes in the law, there are reasons which explain the increase in non-voting in 1919. A map of Bel-

[17] Barthélemy, *Rapport,* No. 4738. [18] See p. 77.

gium showing the proportion of the vote cast by provinces in 1919 would reveal at once the concentration of abstentions in the devastated regions. In these regions

TABLE VIII*

POPULAR PARTICIPATION IN BELGIAN PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS, 1884–1929

Year	Election	Number of Voters Registered	Total Vote Cast	Per Cent
1884.....	Complete renewal	126,419	88,687	70.2
1892.....	Complete renewal	136,775	114,236	84.0
		Number of Votes Registered	Number of Ballots cast	Per Cent
1894.....	Complete renewal	2,085,605	.....	95.0
1900.....	Complete renewal	2,269,414	2,135,036	94.0
1902.....	Partial renewal	1,164,185	1,108,033	95.2
1904.....	Partial renewal	1,216,735	1,153,363	94.8
1906.....	Partial renewal	1,259,242	1,201,778	95.4
1908.....	Partial renewal	1,304,864	1,239,631	95.0
1910.....	Partial renewal	1,365,116	1,303,757	95.5
1912.....	Complete renewal	2,814,891	2,682,644	95.9
		Number of Voters Registered	Total Vote Cast	Per Cent
1919.....	Complete renewal	2,102,710	1,860,890	88.5
1921.....	Complete renewal	2,226,797	2,029,293	91.1
1925.....	Complete renewal	2,335,976	2,178,196	93.3
1929.....	Complete renewal	2,497,446	2,346,729	94.0

* *Annuaire statistique de la Belgique* (1891, 1913, 1925).

the lists of registered voters were not revised at once following the war. Besides, many of the voters were working in the devastated areas of France and could not return for the elections.[19] In the 1929 elections a 94 per cent vote was cast. Keeping these things in mind, it cannot be

[19] L. Dupriez, quoted by J. Barthélemy, *Rapport,* No. 4738.

said that the effectiveness of compulsory voting has appreciably declined since the war.

In criticism of compulsory voting it is sometimes said that it is futile because those who do not want to vote will cast blank ballots. A study of the statistics shows that the proportion of blank and void ballots in Belgium elections to the Chamber has not been excessively large. In 1919 there were over 100,000 ineffective votes, or about 5 per cent of the registered vote. It is impossible to determine what proportion of these ballots was blank and what proportion was invalid.[20] Even considering all these ballots as blank, the proportion of valid votes cast per 100 electors is greater in Belgium than in England, France, Germany, or Switzerland. In the elections to the Chamber in 1925 and 1929 there were 89 valid votes cast for every 100 inscribed electors.

The efficacy of compulsory voting has not rested upon the vigor with which offenders have been prosecuted. In 1902 there were 56,152 votes not given out in the national legislative elections held in one-half of the country. The number probably represented less than 40,000 non-voters. Of these 695 were excused, 704 were reprimanded, and 1,182 were fined. In other words, every fourth or fifth out of each 100 non-voters was brought to trial. Table IX presents the later elections.

Since the war the number of trials in relation to the number of abstentions is even smaller. One reason for this is that the justices of the peace are allowed in many cases to consider the excuses of the non-voters without bring-

[20] J. Barthélemy *(ibid.)* is of the opinion that a large proportion of these ballots was invalid.

ing them to a formal trial. In 1919 there were only 120 trials for 231,232 non-voters. The war accounts for this enormous decrease in the number of prosecutions for electoral abstentions. The justices of the peace have been overburdened with other duties. It cannot be said that compulsory voting is a failure in Belgium because of the relatively small number of prosecutions under the law.

TABLE IX*

PROSECUTIONS FOR NON-VOTING IN BELGIAN PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS, 1899–1920

Year	Number Prosecuted	Acquitted	Reprimanded	Fined
1899–1909.....	11,909	3,710	3,575	4,624
1910.....	1,069	313	326	428
1911.....	53	17	26	10
1912.....	2,201	755	709	737
1913.....	3	2	.....	1
1919.....	126	60	25	41
1920.....	3,806	1,426	1,004	1,376

* *Annuaire statistique de la Belgique* (1923–24), p. 89.

The real test of the system is the size of the vote, and that is not excelled in Europe.

Although the number of formal cases handled by the justices of the peace is small, the procedure which they follow is worth study.[21] Among the excuses which are accepted are sickness, absence in a foreign country, active military service in the occupied regions, and absence from the commune on account of business. Satisfactory proof has to be offered before any one of these excuses will be accepted. Sickness is established by a doctor's certificate except in the case of the blind or paralyzed, and absence

[21] Interview with a justice of the peace in Brussels.

abroad is proved by a passport. No person is ever imprisoned for failure to pay a fine for non-voting, nor is the offense written upon the police records. The obligation is largely a moral one, and the success of the system is due to a number of conditions which are quite apart from the compulsory features.

One reason for the high participation in Belgian national legislative elections is the convenience of the voting system. The lists of registered voters are compiled with utmost care.[22] The registers are permanent, subject to an annual revision made by the administrative officers of the communes. It has been shown in the United States that large proportions of the non-voters are persons, otherwise eligible, who have failed to register. In Belgium there is no obligation upon the individual voter to register, and once he is on the books he is kept there until he moves or dies. Another significant feature of the Belgian election system is the official summons which each voter receives before every election. This notification, which is delivered personally to each voter by the police,[23] contains the date of the election and the location of the polling place. The attention of each voter is thus secured and he is made to feel that he has an official duty to perform upon election day. The election process itself is safeguarded in every possible way. Only official ballots

[22] A. Delcroix, *Révision des listes électorales en 1924: Commentaire pratique* (Brussels, 1924); Sauveur (*op. cit.*, p. 21) shows that the electorate was 94.7 per cent of the adult male citizens. The 5.3 per cent does not represent eligible voters who have not been listed, but rather those who are ineligible for various causes.

[23] For a sample of *lettres de convocation* see A. Delcroix, *Recueil*, pp. 108–14.

printed by the government are used, a ballot is voted in a wholly impersonal way so that there is little danger of its being voided by distinguishing marks,[24] every care is taken to see that absolute secrecy of the vote is secured, and the election officials are chosen from the ranks of the lower judges. Voting consists in blackening a white dot that appears at the head of a ticket or opposite a candidate's name. The elections are held on Sunday, and free railroad transportation is given to those who can prove justifiable absence from their commune on election day.

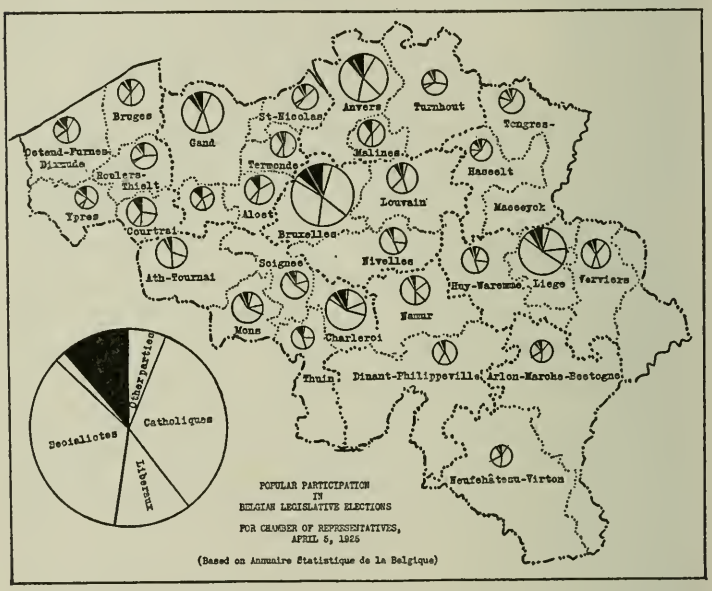
The high poll in Belgian elections has been produced by a combination of factors. These factors are so intermingled that it cannot be said that any one of them is decisive. The convenience of the election system, the fairness of the result as brought about by the D'Hondt system of proportional representation, and the compulsory voting system have all had a stimulating effect upon the size of the poll. The accompanying map shows that there is not much variation in the size of the vote as between different electoral divisions.

There is another factor which is outside the election system and which is operative regardless of the election laws, namely, the intensity of party rivalry in Belgium. It has already been indicated that an 84 per cent poll was attained in the national legislative elections prior to the reform of the election system. The advent of universal suffrage brought a new element into Belgian politics, namely, a strong labor party, which has helped to keep up the vitality of elections in that country.

Because of the bitterness of the struggle between the

[24] For sample ballots see *ibid.*, p. 64.

church and the state in Belgium, the Catholics there are extraordinarily well organized for political purposes. The Catholic party of Belgium had its first lease of power in 1846, but it did not obtain a firm hold on the affairs of



government until 1870. In the fierce struggle with the Liberals for the control of the school system it suffered a temporary setback in the famous law of 1879, but in 1884 it won an overwhelming victory and began a period of control of the Chamber which lasted for thirty-five years. Since the party was originally made up of the nobility and larger landowners, it prospered under the system of limited suffrage. Under the system of universal suffrage and plural voting it profited from the fact that

many of the peasants had small holdings. When universal suffrage, pure and simple, was inaugurated in 1919, it lost its majority in the Chamber. In 1925 it yielded its position as the largest party to the Socialists. The strength of the party is found in the Flemish provinces of Northern Belgium. In the provinces of Limbourg, Luxembourg, and Western Flanders it had a majority in 1929. It is weakest in the Wallonian province of Hainaut where it polled only one-quarter of the vote in the last two elections.

Like the other Catholic parties of Europe, the Belgian Catholic party cuts across social and economic lines. Except for the fact that it is much more Flemish than French, it contains all shades of opinion. While its unity has been threatened by the separatist movement, the incomparable organization of the Catholic church has prevented any open break. In every commune there is a priest who looks out for the interests of the party. In the parochial schools, which are supported by state funds, the catechism taught denounces the principles of the other two parties.[25] In the various sections of the country there are special organizations which are carefully adjusted to the needs of the population. The most important of these will be considered in turn.

In the industrial areas the Catholic workingmen are organized in Catholic or Christian unions. There are Catholic mutual-insurance societies, Catholic workingmen's banks, and Catholic co-operatives which were created to compete with the rival Socialist societies. While

[25] Rowntree, *Land and Labour, Lessons from Belgium* (London, 1910), pp. 276–77.

these organizations were frowned upon at first by the older leaders of the party, they were encouraged by the clergy, which united them in a national organization called the Belgian Democratic League. The suffrage changes made in 1919 increased the importance of this element in the party, and the League was reorganized under the name Christian Democracy on a hierarchical basis similar to that of the Socialists. Each local trade-union has attached to it a priest who acts as a moral adviser. In 1922 there were over 160,000 Catholic trade-unionists.[26] The immediate policies advocated by the Christian Democracy are very similar to those advocated by the Socialists. The chief difference is that it is opposed to the class-conflict theory of the Socialists. The immediate programs of the two groups have many points in common.

The Catholic peasants, who form the backbone of the party, were organized by the priests in 1890 into the Boerenbond or Peasants' League, which was built on the model of the agricultural organizations created by the Catholic Center party in Germany.[27] This League is a federation of local guilds which are formed to promote the economic, intellectual, and moral interests of the agricultural classes. It has devoted itself especially to the welfare of the small cultivators engaged in intensive farming in the Flemish parts of Belgium. Each local guild is

[26] Com. Mertens, *Le Movement syndical en Belgique* (Amsterdam, 1925), pp. 44–45.

[27] A. Lugan, *Une Œuvre belge: Origine et organisation du Boerenbond* (Paris, 1925), p. 10; Chanoine Luytgaerens, *Le Boerenbond Belge* (Louvaine, 1924).

under the guidance of the parish priest, who acts as its spiritual adviser and frequently as its secretary. The Directing Committee of the Boerenbond is also distinctly clerical, the secretary-general being a canon. The central organization acts as an intermediary between the government and the peasants in tax matters, in military-service affairs, in the carrying-out of housing legislation, and in the formation of accident-insurance societies. In addition, it directs certain activities which in most countries are performed by the state. It conducts agricultural schools, it organizes local public libraries, it maintains an elaborate system of rural credits, it furnishes facilities for co-operative buying and selling, and it has a service of inspection.[28] Among its latest activities have been the supervision of irrigation and electrifying projects. Although each family can have only one member in the Boerenbond, there was a total membership of about 100,000 in 1924.[29] The membership fees paid by the head of the family, amounting to not more than seven francs a year for the local guild and four francs for the central organization, entitle all the members of the family to the privileges of the society. The political activities of the Boerenbond are handled largely by the district federations and by the service of documentation of the Directing Committee.

The various elements of the Catholic party are united in a federation called the Belgian Catholic Union (Union Catholique Belge). In the General Council of this Union the following organizations are equally represented: the

[28] Boerenbond Belge, *Rapport presenté, etc.* (1 juin 1925).

[29] *Ibid.*, p. 11.

Christian Democracy, the Boerenbond, the newly formed federation of the middle classes (Classes Moyennes), and the old federation of Catholic Circles and Associations. The cement which binds this structure together is the church.[30]

The Belgian Labor party (Parti Ouvrier Belge) is one of the best-organized parties in Europe. It was established in 1885 on the foundation of pre-existing Socialist societies and trade-unions. In contrast with the French and German Socialist parties it combined political and economic functions. It is now a huge trust or combination of co-operatives, trade-unions, and mutual-insurance societies. The members of the party belong either to a local political group or to one of the economic groups.[31] Nearly one-half of the party members pay their fees as trade-unionists.[32] In 1924 the party had a membership of 624,000, recruited mainly from the industrial regions of Wallonia. In the 1929 elections its vote was slightly greater than that of the Catholic party, being some 803,347, as compared with the latter's 789,914. It polled over 50 per cent of the vote in the district of Nivelle, and in the provinces of Hainaut and Liége.

The backwardness of social legislation in Belgium and the lowness of the wages are two factors that have combined to make the Belgian workingmen dependent upon their party. The party enters into every phase of the life of its members. Take, for example, an employee of

[30] For a critical view of the work of the party see G. Barnich, *Le Régime clerical en Belgique* (Brussels, 1911).

[31] Emile Vandervelde, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

[32] *Die Sozialdemokratischen Parteien*, p. 154.

the co-operative bakery in Brussels. He is a member of his craft union, he belongs to a mutual-insurance society, he receives a Socialist newspaper each day. His wife also belongs to an insurance society, and she makes most of her purchases at the Socialist co-operative. His children are members of the Enfants du Peuple, an organization of young people which maintains summer camps. His oldest son is attending a worker's high school. The importance of the party in the life of the ordinary member is further evidenced by the fact that the total amount of fees he pays the party far exceeds on the average the amount of taxes that he pays to the government. It is true that the central organization only receives sixty centimes annually per member, but the trade-union, the insurance society, the gymnasium class, and the dramatic groups, when taken together, receive substantial sums.[33]

The local political unions, the trade-unions, and the co-operatives are grouped by electoral districts. Each district federation is jealous of its autonomy, and gives up to the central organization only that power which is necessary for the unity of the party. It is the federations which select the candidates of the party for national elections. The local organizations submit nominations, and a poll of all the members of the federation determines the selection.[34]

The national direction of the party is in the hands of the following organizations: the annual congress, the

[33] Vandervelde, *op. cit.*, pp. 21, 457. He gives as an example one workman who paid 303 francs per year for the various services.

[34] T. H. Reed, *Government and Politics of Belgium* (Yonkers, 1924), pp. 161–62.

General Council, the Bureau of the General Council, and the Secretariat. The congress is an assembly of about five hundred delegates,[35] where the legislators, the party officials, and other active workers of the party come together. Each district federation is represented in the congress in proportion to the number of its dues-paying members. The predominating elements in the congress are the great trade-unions and co-operatives which use the bloc method for casting their votes. The great economic groups also control the General Council, which is deliberately chosen to represent groups rather than individuals.[36] The Bureau and the Secretariat are primarily administrative organs, but they are called upon to make important decisions subject to the ratification of the General Council. The financial resources at the command of the central organization are so meager that the number of purely political workers is very small as compared with that employed by socialist parties in other countries. The Socialist daily newspapers, subscription to which is compulsory in some districts, suffer from lack of funds and have a total circulation of not more than 200,000. The chief burden of the political work falls upon the public office-holders of whom there are some 3,800, and upon the trade-union and co-operative officials, numbering some 90,000.[37]

[35] *Rapports présentés au XXXVIe Congrès Annuel,* p. 9.

[36] Vandervelde, *op. cit.,* pp. 17–18. The following organizations are represented: affiliated National groups, district federations, the Federation of Co-operatives, the National Congress of Insurance Societies, Workers' Educational Center, National Federation of Young Socialists, and National Women's Committee.

[37] *Die Sozialdemokratischen Parteien,* p. 160.

The Belgian Labor party is one of the most cohesive and potent forces in Belgian politics today. Many of the tenets of its political program have been realized, including universal manhood suffrage, pure and simple, proportional representation, and the reform of the Senate. In 1893, 1899, and 1913 it did not hesitate to use the powerful weapon of the general strike to secure its political ends.[38] The political program of the party now includes measures for the further democratization of the country such as the extension of suffrage to women, the abolition of the Senate, the election of judges and burgomasters, the adoption of the initiative and referendum, and the election of school boards. Contrary to the practice of the French Socialist party, it has sanctioned participation in coalition ministries in peace times. Immediately following the war its social program included a progressive income and inheritance tax, the development of social insurance, measures for the reduction of unemployment, a government-housing program, the establishment of the eight-hour day, a reduction in the term of compulsory military service, and the granting to public employees the right to organize. In the years 1919–21 many of these reforms were put upon the statute-books. The election of 1921 was fought over the military-service issue. The long-time program of the party calls for the socialization of the mines and a government monopoly of insurance.[39] There is little question that the challenge presented to the other parties by this program has kept interest in Belgian politics at a high pitch.

[38] Vandervelde, *op. cit.*, Part I.

[39] *Programme et Statuts du P.O.B.*

Most of the gains of the Socialists have been made at the expense of the Liberal party. In the nineteenth century the Liberal party was a very powerful influence in Belgian politics,[40] but the suffrage changes of 1894 and 1919 made deep inroads into its strength. The party has always drawn its chief support from the business men and middle-class elements in the cities of Wallonia. It is therefore not torn by the Flemish question as is the Catholic party. In the 1929 elections the Liberal candidates received 369,114 votes, or 16.6 per cent of the total vote cast. Its chief strength was found in the province of Brabant (containing the city of Brussels), where it polled 22.2 per cent of the vote.

Under the régime of limited suffrage the Liberal party did not have to maintain an elaborate system of auxiliary organizations, but with the rise of socialism and the Christian Democracy they were compelled to adopt similar tactics. There are Liberal trade-unions, Liberal insurance societies, and Liberal co-operatives, but they are much less powerful than their rival Catholic and Socialist organizations.[41] The Liberals also exert some influence upon Freemasonry in Belgium.

The chief policies of the Liberal party have been the development of free compulsory secular education, the maintenance of adequate national defense, and the development of a program of gradual social reform. At recent elections its platform also included opposition to the separatist movement, a demand for financial rehabilitation, a foreign policy favorable to the League of Nations, the

[40] P. Hymans, *Causeries sur l'histoire du libéralisme belge* (Brussels, 1921).

[41] Rowntree, *op. cit.*, pp. 25, 566.

adoption of free trade, and the extension of legislation for social insurance.[42] Its chief difference with the Catholics is on the question of education. On the other hand, it violently opposes the Socialist military program and the Socialist demand for the nationalization of certain industries. It opposes woman suffrage in provincial elections because it fears the influence of the clergy upon the women.

The paper organization of the Liberal party compares favorably with that of the other Belgian parties. There is a National Council composed of delegates from the district associations, the Liberal members of the national and provincial legislatures, and delegates from the Liberal journalists, the Liberal mutual-insurance societies, the Liberal young people's organization, and the Liberal trade-unions. Each Liberal district association has a constitution and an elaborate set of rules.[43] Contrary to the Anglo-American practice, membership in the association depends upon the payment of party dues, which in the Brussels district amount to ten francs per year. The nomination of candidates for the legislature are made by the members of the district associations. In some districts a form of preferential voting is used to determine the order of the names on the list. While the Liberal party cannot bring the economic pressure upon its members that is wielded by the Catholic party and the Belgian Labor party, it has the support of an excellent press.

While the Belgian political parties are highly organ-

[42] *Plate-forme du Parti Liberal en vue des élections legislatives de 1925.*

[43] *Le Bulletin de la Fédération Libérale de l'arrondissement de Bruxelles* (January, 1926).

ized, this does not mean that the elections arouse great enthusiasm.[44] Compulsory voting and proportional representation have insured the voters that a full vote and a fair count are to be had by all. It is not necessary for the parties to have huge demonstrations. To be sure, there are public meetings and parades but these are orderly and dignified. Propaganda is spread by the newspapers and by the use of posters and circulars. The Socialists may parade through the streets following a band and distributing leaflets, but they do not have clashes with their opponents as do the Socialists in Germany. The newspapers appeal to prejudices during a campaign as in other countries but the campaigns are conducted in a quiet manner.

In Belgium the poll at national elections is uniformly high regardless of the importance of the particular issues at stake. In countries where there are no legal sanctions to bring the voters to the polls, the vote is likely to vary with the importance of the issues. The national elections of 1925 were hotly contested in Belgium. The Catholic-Liberal government was bitterly attacked by the Socialist party, which denounced the high cost of living, the national deficit, and the threat of new taxes. The actual poll at this election was much the same as at the election of 1921. The high standard of interest in elections which is maintained in Belgium is the result of the keenness of the economic struggle, the intensity of the party battles, the convenience of the voting arrangements, and the success of compulsory voting and proportional representation.

[44] *La Gazette* (Brussels), November 11, 1925.

CHAPTER V

SWISS NATIONAL COUNCIL ELECTIONS

In the European countries discussed so far, all electoral activities were suspended during the Great War, but in Switzerland there was no interruption of the democratic processes during the war years. Situated between four of the warring nations, the people of this little country found it very difficult to maintain their traditional policy of neutrality. However, their political sagacity proved equal to the occasion and they emerged with greatly enhanced prestige. Swiss political institutions continued to function during the war but it cannot be said that they were unaffected by the events of this trying period. The party alignments were thrown into a new mold, economic crises were precipitated, the popular law-making devices were used to stir political passions as they had never been used before, and the electoral system itself underwent important transformations.

It is difficult to compare popular participation in Swiss elections with that of any other democratic country in Europe. The small size of the country, the rugged nature of the land, the diversity of languages, the strength of the traditions of local self-government, the variety of political institutions, and the multiplicity of elections make Switzerland a unique place for political experiments. The composition of the Swiss electorate is similar to that of the French. Every Swiss male citizen twenty years of age or over is allowed to vote, unless excluded by the laws

of the canton in which he resides. However, the duties of the French and Swiss electors are far from being alike. In France the electors vote every four years for the deputies, while in Switzerland there are elections on federal questions every year, to say nothing of the cantonal and municipal elections. The elections to the lower house of the Swiss national legislature, the National Council, are held every three years. These elections do not have the same importance as English or French legislative elections because the Swiss constitution limits the powers of the national legislators. Furthermore, the Swiss plural-executive system detracts from the dramatic quality of the National Council elections. The executive is not responsible to the lower house as in countries having the parliamentary form of government. Making allowance for the fact that some of the cantons have compulsory voting, one might expect to find a lower record for participation in elections to the Swiss National Council than in elections to the French Chamber of Deputies, the latter body having undivided national power and in addition control over the executive.

An examination of the national voting records of the respective countries shows that prior to 1919 interest in legislative elections was much less in Switzerland than in France. Since all the inhabitants are registered in Switzerland by the police as in France, the lists of registered voters contain practically all the qualified electors.[1] In the canton of Zürich the difference between the electors'

[1] Schweizerische statistische Mitteilungen, *Statistik der Nationalratswahlen, 1919, 1922, 1925 und 1928*, p. 17.

lists and the census figures was about 1 per cent.[2] The figures can therefore be regarded as fairly accurate. Table X shows popular participation in Swiss national legislative elections since 1901. After the passage of the new electoral law in Switzerland in 1919 there has been little difference between the voting efficiency of France

TABLE X*

POPULAR PARTICIPATION IN SWISS NATIONAL COUNCIL ELECTIONS, 1902–28

Year	Registered Voters	Vote Cast (First Balloting before 1919)	Per Cent
1902	759,042	431,824	56.8
1905	780,792	439,169	56.2
1908	809,570	425,702	52.5
1911	829,759	437,766	52.6
1914	847,029	394,789	46.6
1917	913,040	548,212	59.9
1919	946,271	760,600	80.4
1922	983,238	750,859	76.4
1925	995,551	764,594	76.8
1928	1,043,823	822,389	78.8

* The figures before 1919 were obtained from *Statistisches Jahrbuch der Schweiz* (1902), p. 309; *ibid.* (1908), pp. 347, 358; *ibid.* (1918), p. 289. The figures for 1919 and after from *Statistik der Nationalratswahlen.*

and Switzerland. In order to understand the factors that have increased the size of the poll in Swiss legislative elections it is necessary to describe briefly the election system in operation before 1919. Under the old system the National Council was elected in part according to the majority-block system and in part according to the single-member-district system. In each of the districts those candidates were elected who obtained a majority of the

[2] A Senti, "Die Nichtwähler in Zürich," *Zürcher statistische Nachrichten,* No. 4 (1926), p. 164.

votes cast. If no candidate obtained a majority on the first balloting, a second balloting was held at which a plurality was sufficient. The effect of this system was to give the most numerous party in a given district a decided advantage and to discourage voting for minority candidates. In 1911 only 52.6 per cent of the registered electors took part in the election of national councilors. In the cantons of Tessin and Vaud, where the minority parties were weak, less than a third of the electors went to the polls. In the fall of 1914 only 46.6 per cent of the registered vote was cast. This falling-off of the vote was caused by a truce declared between the parties at the beginning of the war. Three years later the Socialists broke away from the coalition and started a campaign of their own against the government.[3] The unrest in the country and the challenge presented by the Socialists brought out 59.9 per cent of the listed voters in 1917. However, this record was still far short of the French pre-war voting records. In the Catholic canton of Fribourg only one-third of the vote was cast in this year. The experience of Switzerland before 1919 shows that the majority-election system operating in a federal state with a council type of executive legislative relationship does not bring out a large poll on election day.

In the middle of 1918 the minority parties in Switzerland presented a project for the adoption of proportional representation in national elections.[4] The Radical party, which held a majority in the national legislature, was

[3] C. G. Picavet, *La Suisse* (Paris, 1920), p. 242; E. Fueter, *Die Schweiz seit 1848* (Zürich, 1928).

[4] In 1900 and in 1910 the voters rejected similar proposals.

compelled to discuss this measure but refused to act favorably upon it. The proposition was then brought to a referendum vote and the opposition of the Assembly was overruled by the people. The Federal law of February 14, 1919, provided for the application of the new system in the fall elections.[5] Each canton or half-canton was made an electoral district and assigned as many seats as its population contained the number 20,000. The four districts that contained less than this number were assigned a single seat each.[6] In all the other districts two or more representatives are elected and the principles of proportional representation are applied. Not later than twenty days before the election each party has the right to publish its list of candidates undersigned by fifteen voters in the district and bearing a distinctive title. Each voter can vote for as many names as there are representatives to be elected from the district, but he is obliged to choose names from the published lists. Every vote which a candidate receives also counts as a vote for the party on whose list he is running. The voter is free, on his own initiative or on that of the party, to use his vote to help the candidate he likes best, by writing the names of those candidates twice. This is known as the private or the official *cumul.* In order to assign seats, the total vote for each party in a given district is ascertained. A quotient is

[5] W. Burckhardt, *Eidgenössiche Wahlgesetzgebung: Das Proporzgesetz* (Bern, 1919); see also F. Fleiner, *Schweizerisches Bundesstaatesrecht* (Tübingen, 1923).

[6] If in a canton having only a single representative there is only one candidate or if the number of candidates on all the lists does not exceed the number to be elected, the candidates are declared elected without a vote.

worked out on the basis of the total vote cast.[7] Each party list is entitled to as many members in the National Assembly as the quotient is contained in its total vote. In case any seats are left after the first division by the quotient, they are assigned to the list which would have the highest average vote per seat if it received that seat. The candidates elected from a given list are those who receive the most votes. The system is practically the same as that used in many of the Swiss cantons.

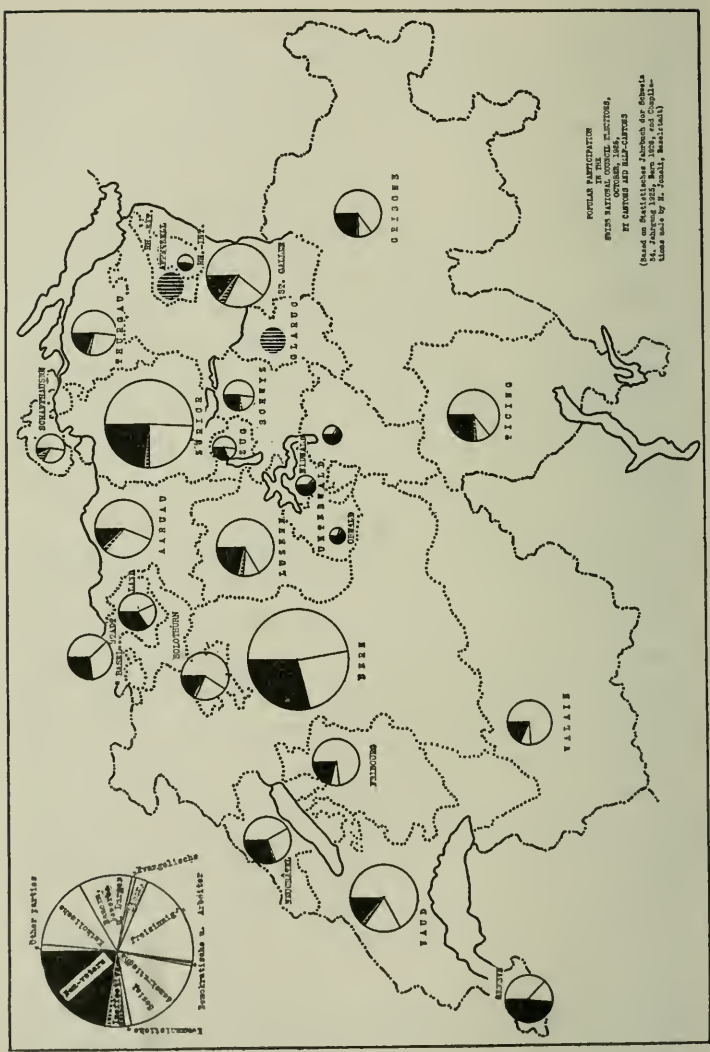
The influence of proportional representation upon the size of the poll in elections since 1919 is unmistakable. It is true that the elections of 1919 were very hotly contested. The Socialists hoped to be the chief gainers from the new law. They put forth extraordinary efforts during the campaign. The conservative elements, alarmed by the general strike which had been attempted the previous year and by the extreme demands of the Socialist leaders, put forth unusual efforts on their part. When the returns were in, it was seen that 80.4 per cent of the registered vote had been cast, 20 per cent higher than at any of the previous elections discussed. An examination of the detailed records shows that this increase cannot be accounted for alone on the ground that the Socialist campaign aroused interest. The most marked increases came in the cantons where the Socialist party was very weak and the Catholic Conservative party correspondingly strong. In Fribourg, Solothurn, Ticino, and Valais, where

[7] The Droop quota is used. This quota is obtained by dividing the number of votes cast by the number of candidates to be elected plus 1 and completing the quotient to the next whole number (see C. G. Hoag and G. H. Hallett, *Proportional Representation* [New York, 1926], p. 421).

the Protestant voters had been discouraged under the old system, there were 20–50 per cent increases in the size of the poll. These increases can be largely traced to the new system of voting. This conclusion is borne out by the fact that the poll in the elections of 1922, 1925, and 1928 did not fall below 76 per cent of the registered vote although the element of uncertainty as to the Socialist strength was lacking in these elections. The relative position of the parties has changed little since the first application of the new law.[8] Proportional representation in Switzerland has stabilized the party situation and has kept the interest in national elections at a fairly high level in spite of the peculiar form of the Swiss government.

An analysis of the size of the vote cast in the different cantons at the 1925 National Council elections given in the accompanying chart brings to light many interesting factors. The highest voting records were found in those cantons having compulsory voting. As far back as 1835 it was laid down in the canton of St. Gall that absence without sufficient excuse from the district assembly elections was punishable by a small pecuniary fine. This law, as re-enacted in 1867 and 1890, has a series of legally valid excuses which include "illness in the family, mourning for a relative, absence, birth in the family and official business." In the five German cantons where obligatory voting has been longest in operation, the size of the poll has been uniformly higher than in the rest of the country.

[8] The best analysis of post-war election statistics is found in *Statistik der Nationalratswahlen;* see also H. Joneli and E. Wyss, "Statistik der Nationalratswahlen von 1919 und 1922," *Zeitschrift für schweizerische Statistik und Volkswirtschaft,* CXXXVI (1923), 77 ff.


POPULAR PARTICIPATION
IN THE
SWISS NATIONAL COUNCIL ELECTIONS,
OCTOBER, 1925,
BY CANTONS AND HALF-CANTONS
(Based on Statistisches Jahrbuch der Schweiz
34. Jahrgang 1925, Bern 1926, and Compilations made by H. Jonell, Basel-Stadt)
GRISONS
TICINO
VALAIS
VAUD
GENEVE
NEUCHATEL
FRIBOURG
BERN
LUZERN
UNTERWALD
SCHWYZ
GLARUS
ST. GALLEN
APPENZELL
THURGAU
SCHAFFHAUSEN
ZURICH
AARGAU
BASEL-STADT
BASEL-LAND
SOLOTHURN
Other parties
Katholische
Freisinnige
Demokratische u. Arbeiter
Kommunistische

In the 1911 elections 74 per cent of the registered vote was cast in the cantons having compulsory voting, while only 43 per cent was cast in the cantons without. In 1925 the poll in both classes of cantons was much higher, owing to the influence of proportional representation, but the cantons with compulsory voting still maintained a marked superiority over the others. In the former group 86 per cent of the registered vote was cast, while in the latter 72 per cent. Thus, it can be said that compulsory voting in the Swiss cantons where it has been tried has been a considerable stimulant to voting irrespective of the system of representation. The methods used to compel the voters to exercise the suffrage differ somewhat as between the cantons and there is a corresponding variation in their effectiveness. In Zürich every voter is obliged to return the envelope which serves for purposes of identification, either with or without a ballot, within an interval of two days after the election or pay a fine of one franc to the collector who comes after the envelope. In Schaffhausen non-voters are punished with a fine of one franc; in St. Gall, two francs; in Aargau, from one to four francs; and in Thurgau, one franc.[9] Since 1924 compulsory voting has been applied in the canton of Vaud to all votings on federal measures.[10] Although the law applied only to the vote on propositions, it had an indirect effect upon the participation in the 1925 National Council elections. According to the law, every eligible voter who

[9] F. Bonjour, *Real Democracy in Action.* In St. Gall voters over sixty years of age are not compelled to vote.

[10] *Loi du 17 novembre 1924 sur l'exercice des droits politiques* (Lausanne, 1924).

does not take part in the federal popular lawmaking process is obliged to present an excuse in writing to the prefect within two days after the election. Illness or absence from the commune are admissible excuses. Unexcused absences are made subject to a penalty of two francs. Although the French Swiss do not look with favor upon compulsory devices, the effect of the law of 1924 was immediate. In 1922, under the voluntary voting system, 67 per cent of the registered vote was cast in this canton, while in 1925 and 1928, under the new system, over 83 per cent was cast. While this record is not as high as that in Schaffhausen where 92 per cent of the electors came out in 1925, the number of blank ballots in Vaud was only 1 per cent as compared with 6.4 per cent in Schaffhausen.[11] While the operation of compulsory voting in Switzerland is not as efficient as in Belgium, it is nevertheless a useful device in notifying the Swiss citizens of their many electoral duties. In all the cantons where it has been used it has lightened the burden of the party organizations in getting out the vote.

Among the cantons without compulsory voting some have much poorer voting records than the others. It is easy to understand the causes of non-voting in the Catholic Landesgemeinde cantons of central Switzerland. Obwalden, Nidwalden, and Uri each return a single member to the National Council and the election is held on the majority principle. Since the result in these districts is a foregone conclusion, it is hard to bring the voters to

[11] Schaffhausen has the worst record in this respect. In all the cantons having compulsory voting taken together 1.6 per cent of the ballots were blank and 1.2 per cent spoiled in 1928.

the urns. It is more difficult to explain the causes of the relatively large amount of indifference to voting in the cantons of Geneva, Neuchâtel, and Ticino. In Geneva between 50 and 60 per cent of the electors come to the polls in national elections. In these cantons, especially Geneva, there is a proportionately larger number of naturalized citizens. It would be expected that the naturalized Swiss would show less interest in national politics than do the native-born Swiss. Besides, a multiplicity of elections in these cantons has exhausted the patience of the voters. These cantons have had the longest experience with proportional representation for their own cantonal elections, and the federal law of 1919 was less of a novelty.

Electoral devices such as proportional representation and compulsory voting are useless unless the vital forces of party organizations are behind them. This is true in Switzerland as in other democratic countries, in spite of the fact that authors like Bryce[12] and Brooks[13] have commented upon the placidity of Swiss politics. Popular participation in national legislative elections is now only slightly lower in Switzerland than in France or in prewar Britain. It is obvious that the party organizations have responded to the challenge of the new system.[14] This

[12] J. Bryce, *Modern Democracies* (New York, 1921), I, 423.

[13] R. C. Brooks, *Government and Politics of Switzerland* (Yonkers, 1918), p. 305.

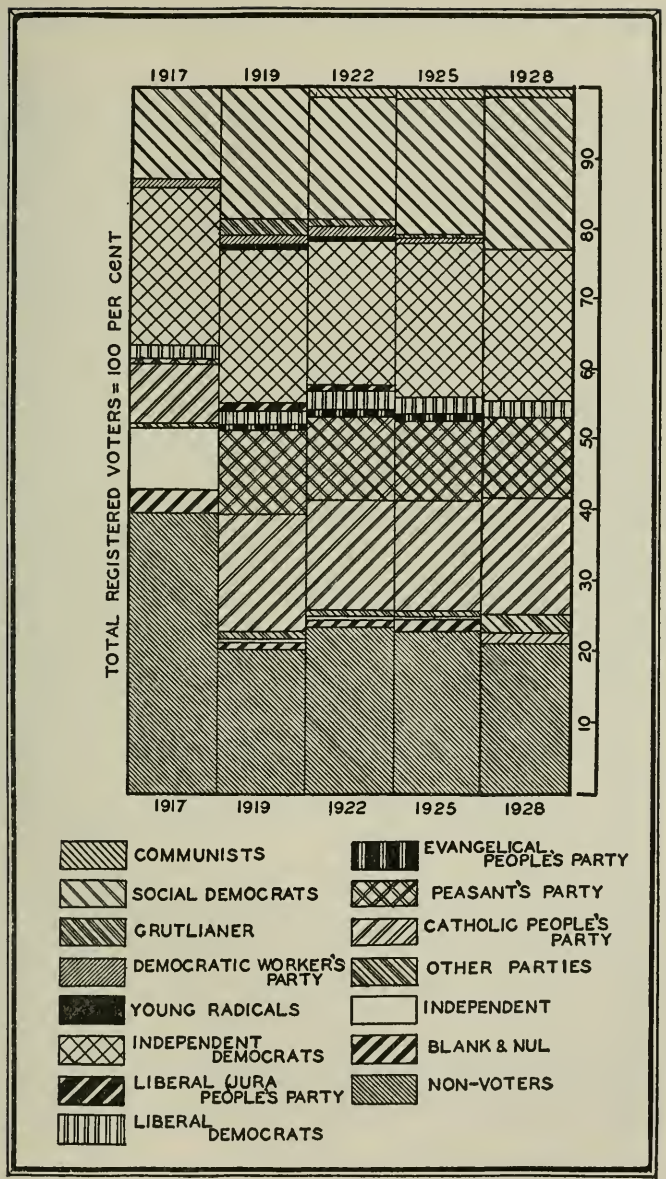
[14] In 1928 the party strife was severe in the following cantons: Luzern, Schwyz, Fribourg, Solothurn, Grisons, and Valais. In each of these cantons over 80 per cent of the registered voters took part. In all but Grisons and Valais around 85 per cent took part. On the parties of Switzerland see "Politische Parteien," *Reichesberg's Handwörterbuch,* III, Part I, 245–94.

result is shown diagrammatically in the chart on the opposite page.

One of the strongest national parties in Switzerland at the present time is the Independent Democratic (Radical) party, which polled 220,135 votes in 1928, or 27 per cent of the total vote cast.[15] In the days before the electoral law of 1919, this party had had a majority in its own right in the National Assembly. Under the new law the party suffered defections in some of the cantons. However, the party is still the chief organ of political expression of the peasants, the merchants, and the business men in the Protestant cantons. It holds annual meetings to decide upon important questions of policy, but it is built on cantonal rather than upon national lines. At the 1926 conference of the party the referendum on the wheat monopoly was discussed and passed upon.[16] The vote on this measure showed that the party was far from united. The Germanic elements which predominate in the party are conservative and centralistic, whereas the minority French-speaking group is opposed to centralization and is more socialistic. Since the party has never been as thoroughly organized as one of the major American or English political parties, it does not have a highly efficient electoral machine. However, in German Switzerland it has the support of the most powerful newspapers and can rely upon wealthy individuals for campaign funds.

[15] The figures for total party votes must be estimated. The method of making estimates is explained in Schweizerische statistische Mitteilungen, *op. cit.*

[16] *Journal de Genève,* May 19, 1926.


1917
1919
1922
1925
1928
TOTAL REGISTERED VOTERS = 100 PER CENT
10
20
30
40
50
60
70
80
90
COMMUNISTS
SOCIAL DEMOCRATS
GRUTLIANER
DEMOCRATIC WORKER'S PARTY
YOUNG RADICALS
INDEPENDENT DEMOCRATS
LIBERAL JURA PEOPLE'S PARTY
LIBERAL DEMOCRATS
EVANGELICAL PEOPLE'S PARTY
PEASANT'S PARTY
CATHOLIC PEOPLE'S PARTY
OTHER PARTIES
INDEPENDENT
BLANK & NUL
NON-VOTERS

The oldest rival of the Independent Democratic party is the Catholic Conservative party, which, like the other Catholic parties of Europe, is founded upon a strictly religious basis. After their defeat in the Sonderbund war of 1847, the Catholics formed a political group to further their peculiar interests. It now has almost undisputed control in the Catholic cantons of Central Switzerland. The federal election law of 1919 encouraged both the Catholic and Protestant elements in these cantons to poll their full strength in national elections. Since the Catholic Conservative party is not equally strong in all parts of the country, it is a strong cantonal-rights party, especially in matters of education. In the 1928 general elections its candidates received a total of 172,516 votes, which was 21 per cent of the total vote cast. In the industrial cantons of Solothurn and St. Gall, there is a Christian Socialist party made up of Catholic workingmen. However, the backbone of the party is made up of the peasants in the mountain communities who are deeply attached to their church. In the Catholic Landesgemeinde cantons the political and religious rites are very closely connected.

The introduction of proportional representation in Switzerland brought a new political group into Swiss national politics. At each of the post-war elections there were Peasants' party lists in the cantons of Bern, Zürich, Aargau, Thurgau, and Schaffhausen. It can hardly be said that a new national party had been formed as these lists were put up by cantonal groups

which had existed before.[17] A Peasants' party had been formed in Zürich in 1917, and one had been founded in Bern in 1918. However, in the national elections of 1928 the Peasants' party candidates received 126,961 votes, about 15.8 per cent of the total vote cast. This vote by no means represents the total electoral strength of the farmers in Switzerland. In most of the cantons the farmers still align themselves with the traditional political parties. The union of Swiss farmers (Bauernverband), founded in 1897, under the leadership of Dr. E. Laur, had a total membership of 364,000 in 1921. This body is a loose federation of agricultural societies in Switzerland, and it strongly discourages the formation of a national Peasants' party which would challenge its own influence. The cantonal Peasants' parties have cut most deeply into the strength of the old Independent Democratic party. On most questions this new group is conservative, anti-socialistic, and ardently patriotic, but on the wheat-monopoly issue it united with the groups of the left. The only national tie between the Peasants' parties is the parliamentary union of the successful candidates. Electoral matters are handled entirely by the local societies.

The Social Democratic party is the most highly organized of the four principal party groups in Switzerland. Its constitution is very similar to that of the German Social Democratic party. Membership in the party depends upon prompt payment of the party dues and

[17] Mitteilungen des Schweizerischen Bauernsekretariates, *Erhebungen über den Stand des landwirtschaftlichen Vereins- und Genossenschaftswesens in der Schweiz im Jahre 1920* (Brugg, 1922).

strict adherence to the national declaration of party principles.[18] The general program of the party includes opposition to militarism, the nationalization of the principal industries, the imposition of a capital levy, the prohibition of alcoholic drinks, the election of judges, and the adoption of a liberal labor code.[19] In general, the party favors the strengthening of the national government at the expense of the cantons. The party is strongest in the urban and industrial centers of Protestant Switzerland and weakest in the rural Catholic cantons. The cantons of Zürich, Bern, and Urban Basel furnish one-half of the party membership. The party has control of a larger proportion of the electorate in the canton of Aargau than in any other canton (29 per cent of all registered voters), but in no canton has it ever approached majority control.[20] This situation may account for the fact that the Socialist party in Switzerland has had a less stimulating effect upon the size of the vote than the Socialist parties of France, England, or Germany. It is difficult to trace in Switzerland any direct connection between the size of the Socialist vote and the size of the total vote. The Swiss Social Democratic party is not as highly organized as the British Labour party. It is not directly connected with the trade-unions and co-operatives although most of its members are. In the 1928 elections it received 220,141 votes, or 27.4 per cent of the total vote cast. The actual

[18] Partei-Mitgliedsbuch, *Statut der Sozialdemokratischen Partei der Schweiz.*

[19] *Ibid.*

[20] In 1928 it polled 41 per cent of the votes cast in Neuchâtel.

number of Socialist members in the National Assembly was increased from 19 to 41 in 1919 as a result of the application of the system of proportional representation. The number of dues-paying members in the party declined from 50,000 in 1920 to 32,000 in 1925,[21] but this decline was not marked by any decrease in the size of the Socialist vote. The members of the party are divided into some 580 sections. The principal organs of the party are the Executive Committee, the Central Committee, and the annual congress. The congress is concerned primarily with matters of policy. It is composed of delegates from the local sections, members of the central committee, and the Socialist members of the National Assembly. The decisions of the congress may be referred to a referendum vote of the party members. In 1919 the members of the party repudiated the decision of the congress to join the Third (Moscow) International. Thus it appears that the rank and file are less advanced than the leaders, many of whom were born in Germany and became naturalized Swiss. Social Democratic newspapers are found in fourteen cantons. Some of them are subsidized by the central organization, and all of them are devoted whole-heartedly to Socialist propaganda. At election time, the party is active in organizing canvassers, holding meetings, and distributing circulars. A study made in the Urban Basel showed that the discipline of the party as measured in

[21] Sozialdemokratische Partei der Schweiz, *Geschäftsbericht pro 1925;* see also E. Schenker, *Die Sozialdemokratische Bewegung in der Schweiz* (1926).

terms of the percentage of straight party votes cast was greater than that of any of the middle-class parties.[22]

The four principal party groups in Switzerland have now been discussed. Passing mention should be made of some of the lesser parties since they typify in some ways the localistic character of Swiss politics. On the conservative side there is the Liberal Democratic party, which is found in only four Protestant cantons of Western Switzerland, namely, Urban Basel, Vaud, Neuchâtel, and Geneva. In its economic policies this party is very close to the Independent Democratic party. It has persisted as a separate organization because it has the support of some wealthy men and some powerful newspapers. In national elections it polls slightly less than 4 per cent of the total vote cast. Recently it has shown a tendency to combine with the other conservative groups against the Socialists and young Radicals. On the other end of the political scale is the Communist party, which was established in Switzerland in 1922 under the influence of the German example. In the 1928 elections its candidates received less than 2 per cent of the total vote cast. It drew practically all its strength from Urban Basel, Shaffhausen, and Zürich. Small in numbers, it maintained a rigid discipline as the Urban Basel study showed that a larger proportion of its members voted a straight ticket than any of the other partisans. The other minor parties, confined as they are to a few cantons, are based upon reli-

[22] *Basler Nachrichten,* October 27, 1925. Less than 2 per cent used their right of panachage as compared with 8 per cent in the Independent Democratic party. Panachage means the right of splitting the ticket.

gious or economic foundations and are of practically no importance nationally.[23]

At election time the Swiss parties use the methods of propaganda that are common in other countries. In Western Switzerland the election-campaign tactics are very similar to those used by the French. Election posters are put upon temporary stands located in prominent places. Public meetings are held in cafés, brasseries, schoolhouses, and communal halls. Each Swiss city has a fine electoral hall at which the important meetings are held. The tone of the speeches at the larger meetings is dignified and fair. The speakers deal with the larger issues and do not indulge in personalities. The principal newspapers defend their views in a dignified fashion but occasional scurrilous sheets are likely to appear. In German Switzerland the campaign methods are more in accordance with Teutonic practices. The election posters appear only on the cylindrical posts reserved for advertising purposes. All the parties buy advertising space in the official city newspapers. Because of the greater use of compulsory voting the parties lay less emphasis upon emotional demonstrations to get out the vote.

Even though the parties have done their best to arouse interest in the election, many voters may fail to come to the urns if the voting arrangements are unduly burdensome. In Switzerland, as in France, Belgium, and Germany, elections are held on Sunday. Thus it cannot be said that Sunday elections are confined to Catholic coun-

[23] The Democratic and Workers' party in St. Gall and Thurgau, the Evangelical People's party in Zürich and Basel, and some lesser parties.

tries. The voting process itself is a very simple one. There are no official ballots but the parties are required to print their ballots and submit them to the officer in charge of the election twenty days before the day of the election. These printed ballots are placed inside the polling booths. In most of the cantons the name of each voter is crossed off the register as he votes and he is given an *estampille*, or a gummed label, which is signed by a member of the Election Board. In order to vote, the elector moistens his *estampille* and places it on one corner of the ballot which contains the candidates of his choice. This procedure insures the secrecy of the ballot and it also is a fair check against repeating. In some of the cantons the voting system resembles more closely the envelope system of France. In Zürich each voter is sent an official envelope with all the party ballots inclosed. Here, the voting proceeds briskly and each voter loses a minimum of time. If a voter wishes to make changes which cannot be readily marked on one of the printed ballots, he is furnished a blank ballot. Although elections are quite frequent in some of the cantons, national elections come once every three years and are never coupled with numerous local elections as in some American cities.

The question of non-voting can be studied to an advantage in Switzerland because some of the cantons have kept very full election statistics. In the canton of Zürich popular participation in National Council elections has been analyzed by the smallest election areas.[24] A study of these returns shows that interest in voting is greater

[24] *Statistik der Wahlen in den Nationalrat im Kanton Zürich* (1919).

in the purely agricultural regions than in the industrial and urban districts. The organization of the Peasants' party may be in part responsible for this result. In addition, it should be noted that the transient populations and the naturalized citizens found in the cities are harder to organize for political purposes than the stable native Swiss in the country districts. This same tendency has also been found in the cantons of Bern and Vaud.

In Switzerland, as in Belgium, voting has come to be recognized as a public function. In six Swiss cantons compulsory voting is now employed. The National Council is now elected by a system of proportional representation which gives recognition to practically all the minority groups. The old majority system of representation which discouraged voting in some parts of Switzerland has given way to a system which insures nearly all the voters that their ballots will count. Elections are held on Sunday, and in the Landesgemeinde cantons they are followed by a religious ceremony. The result of this attitude toward voting is that it has not been necessary for the Swiss to elaborate the same kind of party organizations and campaign technique that are found in Anglo-Saxon countries. The Swiss do not have the same need for paid party agents or professional politicians as do the British and the Americans.

CHAPTER VI

POPULAR PARTICIPATION IN LOCAL ELECTIONS

In the preceding chapters the various elements which influence popular participation in national legislative elections have been considered. It has been shown that the size of the poll varies with the nature of the suffrage requirements, the character of the voting arrangements, the system of representation, the type of population concerned, the vitality of the party issues presented, the stress of economic circumstances, and the strength of the party organizations. It is also of interest in this study to ascertain whether or not these factors are modified in local elections.

In analyzing interest in local elections it will be necessary to take up each country separately because of the widely varying forms and functions of local government. In Switzerland and Germany the study of local elections is complicated by the presence of the federal system of government. In these two countries state elections as well as municipal elections will be considered.

BRITISH LOCAL ELECTIONS

Because of the long tradition of local self-government in Great Britain, one might expect to find a relatively high interest shown in British local elections. However, this is not the case. The strength of the aristocratic tradition is in part responsible for this result. In the past

the conduct of local government has been an affair for gentlemen, and the common people have not paid much attention to it. Even the local government franchise is more restricted than the parliamentary franchise. Men and women are qualified as local government electors if they are over twenty-one years of age and have been owners or tenants of some premises six months before the register is made up. Tenancy in this connection means the occupation of unfurnished room or rooms for which rent is paid. This requirement disfranchises sons and daughters of age who are living at home and also servants who do not own their furniture or pay rent for it. Between 1918 and 1928 women, twenty-one years of age and over, were qualified as local government electors if they occupied premises themselves, which, if not dwellings, rented for £5 a year or more. During this time women could also qualify on the basis of their husbands' occupancy, in which case they had to be thirty years of age. In other words, unmarried women who were economically independent could vote before married women could. In 1924 there were 8,008,289 men and 8,008,405 women marked as local government electors on the registers of England and Wales.[1] For the same areas there were 2,700,000 more men and 75,000 more women marked as parliamentary electors. It should be noted that it is in the country boroughs that most of the business-premises votes are found.

The most important units of British local government are the county boroughs, which are municipal corpora-

[1] These figures were obtained from the Registrar-General's office in London.

tions combining the functions of a county and a borough. The county boroughs are governed by councils, the members of which are elected for three-year terms, one-third of them retiring each year. There are no elective administrative officers as in most American cities. The councilors, whose number varies with the size of the city, are elected on a plurality basis by wards, each ward returning three, six, or nine members. Since the local council is not elected all at one time and since the attention of the voters may be scattered among several candidates, the borough council elections lack many of the dramatic features that characterize British parliamentary elections. A study made of seventeen typical British cities in 1923 showed that the level of participation is considerably below that in national elections.[2] Only 52.4 per cent of the local government electorate in these cities came to the polls in this year as compared with 70.8 per cent of the parliamentary electorate. Of the seventeen cities studied, the least interest was shown in Brighton, a summer-resort city on the southern coast where only 36 per cent of the electorate was polled; and the greatest interest was shown in Barrow, a town in the center of a great industrial district where 76 per cent of the electorate was polled. A partial continuation of this study for the years 1924 and 1925 showed that there is not much variation from year to year in the size of the poll in a given city.[3] In every election since the Great War there has been at least a 60 per cent poll in the city of Glasgow. In the borough of

[2] The statistics were obtained from the town clerks of the various boroughs.

[3] See Appendix II, Table XVIII.

Sheffield the poll has also been around 60 per cent. In Manchester, the average poll is only 50 per cent, but the poll is always higher in the working-class wards. One reason for the relatively high polls in Barrow, Glasgow, Sheffield, and the poorer wards of Manchester is the challenge presented by the Labour candidates in these districts.[4] The program of the Labour party in municipal affairs has awakened the Conservatives to action in local politics. Under the name of Municipal Reformers the Conservatives have organized municipal rate-payer's associations and good government leagues to combat the local Labour parties.[5] The chief aim of the Conservatives has been to prevent increases in the local rates whereas the Labourites wish to extend the municipal services. The fact that there is considerable variation between the size of the poll in different cities suggests that the battle between the Municipal Reformers and the Socialists is not a severe one in all parts of Great Britain.[6] The general low average of participation in borough council elections, as compared with parliamentary elections, shows that the gentleman class is still in undisputed possession of British municipal government in most places.

The elections in London are not on the same basis as the elections in the provincial cities, but similar tendencies are manifested in these elections. There is no single coun-

[4] *Glasgow Herald,* November 3, 1925; *London Times,* November 3, 1926.

[5] *Saturday Review,* November 6, 1926; see also *The Labour Yearbook* (1926).

[6] J. K. Pollock, "Labor Party Gains in Municipal Elections in Great Britain," *National Municipal Review,* XVII (1928), 67–68.

cil in London which unites all the functions of municipal government, but instead there is an elective London County Council and twenty-eight elective metropolitan borough councils. For purposes of electing the London County Council, the city is divided into sixty-one electoral divisions, each division returning two councilors (the city of London returning four) every three years. Popular participation in the election of these councilors is considerably less than in the election of county borough councilors in provincial England. At no time since the war has the poll exceeded 37 per cent of the electorate in contested divisions.[7] While popular interest in the metropolitan borough council elections, which are held each year, has ranged about the same as in the London County Council elections, there was a marked increase in the poll at the 1925 metropolitan borough council elections. However, at these elections only 45 per cent of the registered vote was cast.[8] In both county and borough elections in London, the percentage voting is the highest in the divisions of East Woolwich and Bow and Bromley, where the Labour party has its most efficient organizations. The three British parties have been active in organizing the London electorate but they have worked under great difficulties. One reason for the small response has been the duplication upon the registers. In the business districts many men are registered from their offices but they actually vote in an outlying district where they have their

[7] Administrative County of London, *General Election of County Councillors* (1925); *ibid.* (1928).

[8] *London Times,* November 4, 1925.

residence.[9] In addition the London population is notoriously mobile and hard to organize for civic purposes.

In the rural section of Great Britain the county council elections are the most important elections. The county councilors are elected for three-year terms, all retiring at once. In some of the rural parts of England the ruling aristocracy, made up of Conservative councilors, is so strong that not one-half of the seats are contested.[10] In the county council elections of Yorkshire (East Riding) in 1925 there were contests in only twelve of the fifty-five wards. In none of the counties reported in the *Times* did the poll in contested districts exceed 50 per cent of the electorate. In the county of Essex only 5 per cent of the electors went to the polls. In rural England neither the Liberal nor the Labour party offer any effective opposition to the Conservatives, and consequently the elections go largely by default.

Apart from the elective county and borough councils, there were also until 1929 elective Guardians of the Poor in both the urban and rural areas. These officers had charge of the administration of the poor-law under the supervision of the Ministry of Health, and they were elected for terms of three years. Ordinarily the election of Guardians attracted little attention,[11] but in some of the working-class sections of the large cities some interest was shown. The Labour party struggled for the control of these boards, and where it was successful a more

[9] In 1925 in the city of London the night population was only 13,709, but there were over 43,000 persons on the register of voters.

[10] *London Times,* March 5, 7, and 10, 1925.

[11] *Ibid.,* April 3, 1925; *Newcastle Chronicle,* April 8, 1925.

liberal policy in the granting of outdoor relief was instituted. The subsequent increases in the local rates were opposed by the rate-payers' associations. In the entire county of London only 18.4 per cent of the electorate came out for the Guardian elections of 1928, but in the district of Poplar Borough, where the Labour party had gained control, there was a 26.7 per cent poll.[12] The success of the Labour party in certain districts in Manchester produced similar results. In general, the Guardian elections brought a very small response from the voters. The Local Government Act of 1929 transferred the work of these officials to the larger local authorities, the county councils and the county borough councils.[13]

In Great Britain popular participation in local elections is below that in parliamentary elections. Local councilors and other elective officers serve without pay, and until recently the candidates for these offices came from the gentleman class. The fact that the borough councils are only partially renewed each year and that they must go to Parliament for any new power has detracted from the dramatic quality of the council elections. In London and in the rural areas the interest of the public is distracted by the existence of a number of overlapping authorities. In addition, the plurality system of representation has discouraged minorities. In the rural areas

[12] Administrative County of London, *General Elections of Guardians in London* (April 6, 1925); *ibid.* (April 2, 1928). In 1925 the percentages were 19.8 for all London counties and 35.5 for Poplar Borough.

[13] I G. Gibbon, "Recent Changes in the Local Government of England and Wales," *American Political Science Review,* XXIII (1929), 636.

the Conservative party candidates are almost sure to win, and consequently many voters stay away from the polls. As compared with American local government, British local government is free from spoils, owing largely to the presence of a permanent staff of administrative officials. In British municipal elections there are no rival bands of spoilsmen hunting for votes nor have the national parties in the past been accustomed to large expenditures and active canvassing. The rise of the Labour party in the industrial areas has introduced national issues into local politics and has stimulated interest in voting in those parts. This has begun to change some of the old aristocratic traditions regarding local government, but as a rule popular interest in municipal elections is still inferior to that in national elections.

FRENCH LOCAL ELECTIONS

In France the centralized character of the government and the wide powers of the bureaucrats would leave one to believe that the voters might slight local elections. However, local elections are so closely connected with national elections that a surprisingly large amount of interest is shown in them. A local elective office is frequently a stepping-stone to national politics.

The right to vote in French local elections is the same as in national elections. All male citizens twenty-one years of age and over are inscribed upon the electoral rolls. As in Great Britain, a man who pays taxes on his business premises and lives in an outlying suburb may be registered either at his place of business or at his residence. There has been some agitation recently for woman

suffrage in local elections,[14] but no action has yet been taken on this reform.

The most important units of French local government are the department and the commune. Since the department is the larger unit, it will be discussed first. There are eighty-nine departments in France and each is divided into cantons for electoral purposes. The legislative body of each department is a council, the members of which are elected by cantons for six-year terms, one-half of them retiring every three years. In a given canton, if no candidate receives a majority on the first balloting, there is a second or run-off election at which a relative majority is sufficient. In thirty-two departments studied in 1925, 58.7 per cent of the voters came to the polls.[15] The best record was in the department of the Nord where 79.5 per cent of the registered vote was cast, and the poorest record was in the department of the Var where only 42.2 per cent of the registered vote was cast. These regional differences roughly parallel those found in parliamentary elections.[16] A study of ten departments for a series of years showed that the poll in general council elections rarely exceeded two-thirds of the electorate. It is to be expected that the general level of interest in departmental elections would be lower than in national elections because only one-half of the cantons is called upon to act at one time and the powers of the elective councilors

[14] J. Barthélemy, *Rapport à la Chambre des Députés* (20 février 1923), No. 5610.

[15] These figures were obtained from the Ministère de l'Intérieur (see Appendix II, Table IX).

[16] See above, p. 52.

are greatly limited by the prefects appointed by the central government. The striking thing to note is that more interest is shown in French departmental elections than in British county elections.

The most vital unit of French local government is the commune. The only elective officers of the commune are the councilors who were chosen on a general ticket basis every four years until the term was lengthened to six years in 1929. The number of councilors varies roughly with the size of the commune, ranging from a minimum of 10 where the population is 500 or less, to a maximum of 36 where the population is over 60,000.[17] Communes with a population of 10,000 choose 23 councilors at large. All communes larger than this may be subdivided into districts each of which selects at least four councilors. The elections are held on the first Sunday in May all over France. As in departmental elections there is a second balloting in case no list receives a majority of the votes cast at the first balloting.

Popular participation in French communal elections is higher in general than participation in English borough elections. This may be partly explained by the absence of woman suffrage in France. An analysis of the returns submitted by twenty-three French cities in 1925 showed that an average of 80.3 per cent of the electorate took part.[18] The best record was made by the cities of Lille and Roubaix in the department of the Nord in which over 90 per cent of the registered vote was cast, and the poorest record was made by the city of Toulon in the southern

[17] Contrary to the rule, Lyons has 57 councilors.

[18] The figures were furnished by the *maires*.

part of France in which only 68.6 per cent of the registered vote was cast. The French Socialist party has elected more municipal councilors in the departments of the Nord than in any other department.[19] This fact corroborates the findings in national elections to the effect that the size of the poll in French elections has been increased by the growing strength of the parties of the left. It has been indicated that the 1924 legislative elections were favorable to the left bloc. The municipal elections of 1925 favored the same group.[20] In 1919 the average poll for twenty-two cities studied was 61.7 per cent of the electorate. Some of the factors which exaggerated the proportion of non-voters in the national elections had the same effect upon local elections. The electoral lists had not been properly revised and the parties had not rebuilt their organizations. In the two elections which preceded the war, those of 1908 and 1912, the average participation was around 70 per cent of the electorate.[21]

In contrast with the other communal councils, the council of Paris is elected upon a single-member-district basis. The twenty *arrondissements* of the city are subdivided into electoral districts. Although the council of Paris does not have the power to select a mayor, as do the other municipal councils, the participation in the Parisian elections is about the same as that in the other

[19] *Le Populaire de Paris,* August 1 and September 23, 1925.

[20] *Le Temps,* May 5, 1925.

[21] In the city of Lyons there was a 75.1 per cent poll in the 1929 municipal elections. This shows a slight falling-off in the interest (5 per cent less than in 1925) (see *Le Progrès* [Lyons], May 6, 1929).

municipalities. In 1925 the poll in Paris was 81.2 per cent of the electorate. In the working-class districts of Paris the Communist party is very strong.[22] The parties of the right are also highly organized in the metropolis.

In France popular participation in local elections is not greatly inferior to that in parliamentary elections. The departmental elections attract a fairly high poll considering the fact that only one-half of the councilors are elected at any one time. There is considerable variation in the size of the poll at communal elections, but in a period of excitement the interest of the voters is just as great as in parliamentary elections. One reason for this is the fact that the municipal councilors constitute the most numerous element in the electoral colleges which choose the senators. The communal election campaigns are conducted along national lines.[23] A communal councilor, except in Paris, may also be a deputy at the same time. Many national politicians have come to fame through their work on their local councils. Among the other factors which have contributed to these high polls are the great amount of attention given to local elections by the newspapers, the activity of local political clubs, the attempt of the Socialists to gain control of certain councils, and the large number of candidates in relation to the total electorate.[24]

[22] J. Gauterot, *Le Monde communiste* (Paris, 1925), pp. 195–203.

[23] R. C. Brooks, "Les Affiches électorales," *National Municipal Review,* XIV (September, 1925), 525–31.

[24] There were 1,200,000 candidates for communal office in 1929, or about one for every ten voters.

BELGIAN LOCAL ELECTIONS

Belgian local elections are of particular interest in this study because they offer an opportunity to check upon the influence of compulsory voting. While the French and Belgian systems of local government have many strong resemblances, it may be said that the spirit of local self-government is stronger in Belgium than in France.

The kingdom of Belgium is divided into nine provinces for purposes of administration and local self-government. Each of these provinces elects a council every four years by the same suffrage and by practically the same method of proportional representation used in national elections.[25] The rules regarding compulsory voting also apply in provincial elections. Since the provincial elections are less dramatic than the national elections, they furnish an excellent means for testing the effect of compulsory voting upon the size of the poll. While the provincial councilors choose forty of the senators, their functions are mainly local. In 1921 the provincial elections came the Sunday following the national elections, at which the campaigning had been very intense and the result doubtful up to the last minute. The provincial elections did not have the same political significance, the result appeared certain beforehand, and the party propaganda was reduced to a minimum. Yet the number of voters at the two elections was practically the same. At both elections there were eighty-seven valid ballots cast for every hundred names upon the electoral lists.[26]

[25] A. Delcroix, *Dispositions légales en vigeur pour les élections communales* (Brussels, 1921).

[26] Statistics furnished by the Ministère de l'Intérieur.

Four years later the provincial and parliamentary elections did not follow each other so closely. In the national elections of April, 1925, the Socialists had made considerable gains. At the election of the provincial councils in November of the same year, 92.4 per cent of the registered voters cast ballots, only 5.7 per cent of which were blank or invalid.[27] Again it was demonstrated that the device of compulsory voting in Belgium overcame that indifference toward local elections which is so marked in countries with a free voting system. The election campaign of November, 1925, was quietly conducted with few meetings, few parades, and few posters.[28] Another interesting characteristic of the election was the slight variation in the poll as between the different provinces. The highest poll was in the provinces of Antwerp and Limbourg where 93.5 per cent of the voters came to the polls, and the lowest was in Western Flanders where 90.5 per cent of the voters came out. The latter record is far in excess of the average record attained in the local elections of any of the other countries studied.

As in France, the smallest unit of local government in Belgium is the commune. However, the Belgian commune is a historic unit of local self-government which has and exercises more powers than the French commune. Before the war the qualifications for voting were more stringent for Belgian communal elections than for the elections to the Chamber of Representatives. In order to become a communal elector it was necessary to be a Belgian male citizen, thirty years of age and over, and to have lived

[27] The figures for the province of Namur not included.

[28] *La Gazette,* November 11, 1925.

in the commune at least three years. Additional votes were given on the basis of capacity, ownership of property, and position as head of a family up to a total of four instead of three as in national elections. These provisions discriminated in favor of the Catholic peasants as opposed to the transient industrial workers.[29] The communal councilors were elected for terms of eight years, one-half of them retiring every four years. A hybrid form of proportional representation was used which was similar to the French system, which has been described above.[30] All candidates who received a majority of all the ballots cast were declared elected and the remaining seats, if there were such, were distributed according to a rough system of proportional representation. In the last elections before the Great War, conducted according to this system, 94.6 per cent of the electors took part.[31] Although over half of the councilors were elected by an absolute majority, this had no marked depressing influence upon the size of the poll such as it has in countries without compulsory voting.

The election law of 1921 radically changed the municipal franchise. The age limit was lowered to twenty-one years of age, the residence requirement was reduced to six months, and the right to vote was extended to women on the same terms as to men. As in national and provincial elections, plural voting was abolished. These changes increased the communal electorate from 1,376,780 in 1914

[29] P. Errera, *Droit public belge* (Paris, 1918), p. 456.

[30] See p. 39; also Delcroix, *op. cit.*

[31] *Annuaire statistique de la Belgique* (1914), p. 197.

to 4,457,705 in 1921.[32] The councilors are now elected all at the same time for terms of six years according to a system of proportional representation which resembles somewhat the national system. The quota used is a large one, and it therefore discriminates against the smaller parties. The individual voters are allowed to express their preferences as between the different candidates by a system of *panachage* which enables the elector to vote for candidates on more than one list, each vote for a candidate counting as a vote for the list on which his name appears. In the 1921 communal elections held under the new law there was a 90 per cent poll.[33] An analysis of sixty-three communes with a population of over 10,000 showed that on the average less than 5 per cent of the ballots cast were void or blank.[34] In the 1926 Belgian communal elections, there was a 92.7 per cent poll.[35] It is thus clear that the system of compulsory voting in Belgium works practically as well with woman suffrage as it works with manhood suffrage.

Provincial and communal elections in Belgium are fought by the national political organizations. It is possible that the success of compulsory voting in local elections is due to the intensity of party spirit in Belgium. The Socialists have gained control of the provincial councils of Hainaut and Liége.[36] The Catholic party has long

[32] *Ibid.* (1923–24), p. xli.

[33] *Ibid.*, p. 86.

[34] Partial returns obtained by writing to provinces and communes. The total figures were 1,312,539 inscribed electors, 1,166,464 ballots cast, of which 56,772 were blank or void.

[35] *Annuaire statistique de la Belgique* (1929), p. 74.

[36] *Le Soir* (Brussels), November 7 and 14, 1927.

held sway over a majority in some of the Flemish provinces. In Belgium a combination of proportional representation, compulsory voting, an intense economic struggle, and a well-developed party system has successfully overcome indifference to local elections that is common in other countries.

GERMAN STATE AND LOCAL ELECTIONS

In Germany the study of local elections is complicated by the federal system of government. Before the Great War political scientists were agreed that Germany was a federal state, but since the war the status of federalism in Germany is doubtful. However this may be, the states (*Länder*) of the German commonwealth still exercise important functions and constitute vital electoral units. Local government is still under the supervision of the German states. The electoral changes wrought by the war were greater in the state governments than in the national government. Consequently, it will be necessary to consider the pre-war and the post-war election systems in the most important of the German states.

Prussia.—Since Prussia was and is the largest of the German states, it will be discussed first. The voting system of pre-war Prussia was founded on a rigorous interpretation of theory that suffrage should be based on property qualifications. All male citizens twenty-five years of age and over who had lived in their communes for six months were eligible as voters. The elections were open and indirect. The voters of each district were entered upon a list with their respective taxes and they were then divided into three classes such that each class

accounted for one-third of the total taxes paid by all the voters. Each class was entitled to elect one-third of the delegates, who on their part choose the representatives to the Prussian Landtag. The injustice of the system lay especially in the fact that every group or class elected the same number of delegates, whereas the first class was made up of the very small group of the highest taxpayers, the second of the larger but diminishing "middle class," and the third class of the great mass of small taxpayers. In addition, the division of the state into districts was very illogical. In a district where there were many people of small means, the voters in the first class paid no higher taxes than some of the voters in the third class in another district. The participation of the voters in the elections conducted according to this system was very low and uneven. The highest poll was in the first class, and the lowest in the third class. In the 1908 election of the House of Representatives of the Prussian Landtag, the participation of the voters was as shown in Table XI.[37]

It is obvious that the voters in the first class prized their suffrage much higher than the voters in the third class whose ballots had comparatively little weight. The elections were much more hotly contested in the cities than in the country districts. There was a difference of over 10 per cent between the two kinds of districts.[38] In the urban areas the Social Democrats were very active,

[37] G. Evert, "Die preussischen Landtagswahlen von 1908," *Zeitschrift des Königlich Preussischen Statistischen Landesamts* (Berlin, 1909), XXX, 153.

[38] *Ibid.*, p. xix.

while in the rural sections the oral voting system enabled the large landlords to intimidate the poorer classes into non-action or acquiescence. In the cities only 29.8 per cent and in the rural districts only 21.3 per cent of the valid ballots were cast for losing candidates. In other words, the electoral contests under the system of weighted voting were not very close.[39] Part of the program of the Social Democrats was the reform of this electoral system, which discriminated sharply against them.

TABLE XI

POPULAR PARTICIPATION IN PRUSSIAN ELECTIONS UNDER THE THREE-CLASS SYSTEM, 1908

Class	Number of Voters Registered	Total Vote Cast	Per Cent of Registered Vote Cast
Class I	293,402	156,919	53.5
Class II	1,065,240	456,920	42.9
Class III	6,324,079	1,908,817	30.2
Total all classes	7,682,721	2,522,656	32.8

The new constitution of Prussia, adopted in 1919, did away with the old three-class system and provided for the application of the principles of universal suffrage and proportional representation to the election of the state legislature. The new electorate numbered over 21,000,000. The details of the Prussian electoral law are much the same as those of the national law.[40] The fixed or automatic quota is used in the assignment of seats to the

[39] *Ibid.*

[40] O. Meissner, *Das Staatsrecht des Reichs und seiner Länder* (Berlin, 1923), p. 79; W. Jellinek, *Die deutschen Landtagswahlgesetze* (Berlin, 1926).

various party lists, each list receiving one seat for every 40,000 votes cast for it. This system places a premium upon a full party vote. In the Landtag elections of 1921 the poll was 77 per cent; in those of 1924, 79 per cent; and in those of 1928, 76 per cent.[41] These were practically double the pre-war level. Universal suffrage and proportional representation are partly responsible for this result. It is also the product of post-war social and economic conditions and the fact that the parties fight state elections along national lines. The parties of the left have acquired a position of power and influence in Prussian state politics, and as a result the parties of the right have organized to combat them.

Bavaria.—Before 1906 there was an indirect system for the election of representatives in Bavaria. The electoral law of 1906 provided for a new system of suffrage which was much more liberal than the Prussian system. Every male citizen of the state twenty-five years of age and over who had been entered as a taxpayer for at least one year was entitled to vote. The elections were direct and were conducted in the main on the single-member-district plurality plan with the proviso that the winning candidate must poll at least one-third of the total vote cast.[42] Before this system went into operation the poll at Bavarian Landtag elections had been relatively low (52 per

[41] Zeitschrift des Preussischen Statistischen Landesamts, *Die Wahlen zum Preussischen Landtag vom 7. Dezember 1924* (Berlin, 1925), p. 102, and *Statistisches Jahrbuch für das Deutsche Reich* (1929), p. 486.

[42] F. Stier-Somlo, *Vom parlamentarischen Wahlrecht in den Kulturstaaten der Welt* (Berlin, 1918), p. 194.

cent in 1905), but in 1907 the poll was 72.9 per cent of the electorate, and in 1912, 81.9 per cent.[43] The change from the indirect to the direct method of electing representatives had a decidedly stimulating effect upon the interest of the voters.

In accordance with the German constitution of 1919, the Bavarian electoral law was changed in 1920 to provide for universal adult suffrage and proportional representation. Each voter now casts his vote for a party list or for a single candidate whose name appears in a list. The system is called the "single non-transferable vote" as opposed to the bloc vote used in Reichstag elections.[44] The number of seats is fixed, and the seats are distributed among the different parties by a system somewhat like the one used in Belgium. In an electorate of over four million the Landtag elections in 1920 brought out a 75.7 per cent poll; those in 1924, a 71.8 per cent poll; and those in 1928, a 74.1 per cent poll.[45] Considering the fact that the electorate was more than quadrupled, this was an excellent showing. In 1920 the poll of the male voters was 81 per cent, and in 1924, 77 per cent. At both elections the poll of the female voters was about 10 per cent less than that of the male voters. A detailed analysis of the returns in certain districts showed that the difference between the two sexes was less in the cities than in the rural districts.[46] In general, the participation of the voters was higher in the urban than in

[43] Bock, *op. cit.*, p. 138.

[44] Meissner, *op. cit.*, pp. 74–76.

[45] *Zeitschrift des Bayerischen Statistischen Landesamts* (1924), p. 226.

[46] *Ibid.*, p. 234.

the rural districts. The most numerous party in Bavaria is the Bavarian People's party, which split off from the Center party in 1920. Bavarian politics is very particularistic, and it is difficult to note any trends. However, the poll was the lowest in those districts where the combined vote for the Socialist and Communist parties was the least. The post-war experiments in communism and reaction in Bavaria have kept the Bavarians alive to political events.

Saxony.—The people of the state of Saxony have tried three electoral experiments during the present century. From 1897 to 1907 an indirect three-class system was in operation which closely resembled the Prussian system. A third of the legislators was chosen every two years. During this period the poll at no time reached 50 per cent of the electorate. As in Prussia, participation was highest in the first class, which contained the highest taxpayers. The way in which the election records were kept during this period permits an analysis of the per cent voting by occupations. The poll of the independent farmers was 37.4 per cent, that of the independent industrialists 57.8 per cent, and that of the independent miners and foundrymen, 60.8 per cent.[47] In 1909 the electoral system was completely revised. The members of the new chamber were chosen all together for six-year terms, by an electorate in which plural voting up to a total of four votes was allowed. Additional votes were assigned on the basis of wealth, income, education, and age. At the first and only use made of this system in 1909, there was an 82.6 per cent poll.

[47] Bock, *op. cit.*, p. 125.

In Saxony the election law of 1920 provided for a system of proportional representation resembling the Bavarian plan. At the 1920 elections conducted under the new law there was a 70.1 per cent poll, and at the 1929 elections, a 78.4 per cent poll.[48] While these polls did not quite equal the 1909 poll under the system of plural voting, they far excelled the polls under the three-class system. The parties of the left marshaled their full strength and secured the selection of a Social Democrat as prime minister.

In the smaller German states, interest in state legislative elections has varied considerably in the post-war period.[49] The lowest records were found in the states of Baden and Hesse (54 per cent), and the highest record in 1927–28 was found in Anhalt (88.1 per cent). The indifference toward voting found in Baden is due partly to the lack of a strong Socialist party. The other states have records which are close to the Reichstag records.

GERMAN CITIES

It has now been shown that participation in the Landtag elections of the German states is about the same, or slightly inferior to that in Reichstag elections. In a few states the voting efficiency is slightly superior in state elections to the general Reichstag level. Popular interest in German county and provincial elections is distinctly lower than that in Landtag or Reichstag elections. It sometimes falls as low as 25 per cent of the electorate.

[48] *Zeitschrift des Sächsischen Statistischen Landesamtes 66 und 67 Jahrgang 1920 und 1921* (Dresden, 1921), p. 333.

[49] *Statistisches Jahrbuch für das Deutsche Reich* (1929), pp. 486–87. See Appendix.

In this study no special consideration will be given to these elections. The next subject will be a discussion of the size of the polls in the largest German cities, before and after the Great War.

Before 1918 the election system in most of the Prussian cities resembled that of the Prussian state. In Berlin and in the greater part of the Prussian villages and cities, the three-class system and oral voting were in operation. As in the Prussian Landtag elections, popular participation in these elections was low. In the elections which immediately preceded the war (1912–13) there was a 51 per cent poll in Cologne, a 58 per cent poll in Leipzig, a 34 per cent poll in Magdeburg, and a 41.2 per cent poll in Berlin.[50] The Social Democrats, who made up the most numerous element in the third class, were able to gain little headway toward the control of the city councils. They were also discriminated against by the property qualifications imposed upon candidates.

In the cities where the three-class system was not in operation, the poll at communal elections was higher than in the cities mentioned above. Thus, in Frankfurt-am-Main there was a 64 per cent poll in 1913; in Breslau, a 74 per cent poll in 1912; and in Nürnberg, a 92 per cent poll in 1911. All of these cities had some form of limited suffrage. In Dresden, with its peculiar election system which divided the voters into five occupational classes, there was a 78 per cent poll in 1913; in the free city of Hamburg, with its combination of plural voting and proportional representation, there was a 94 per cent poll in 1913; and in the free city of Bremen, with its

[50] The figures were obtained from the local burgomasters.

eight-class system, five of which were territorial, a 77 per cent poll was cast in 1911. Of the various systems for voting used in German cities before the war, the three-class system afforded the least encouragement to popular interest.

Following the Revolution, the local electoral laws all over Germany were liberalized. Universal manhood and womanhood suffrage, secret voting, and proportional representation were introduced everywhere. In spite of the greatly increased size of the electorate, a higher poll was at once attained in Berlin, Leipzig, and Magdeburg than under the old three-class system. In each of these cities two-thirds of the municipal electorate turned out for the communal elections in 1919. In Cologne the new system did not seem to make much difference in the proportion of the registered vote cast. In 1913 and in 1919 only one-half of the qualified voters in this city went to the polls. In Hamburg and Dresden the new system meant a falling-off in the percentage voting, but in Breslau, Frankfurt-am-Main, and Bremen the proportions remained the same in spite of the great number of new voters. Statistics for the elections in Bremen show that 5 per cent less of the women voted than of the men in 1924.[51] A study made of fourteen cities in 1924 and 1925 showed that the average popular participation in elections was 69.4 per cent of the electorate. The city of Magdeburg led with an 84 per cent poll, while the city of Cologne trailed at the end with a 58.5 per cent poll. An observer of a Hamburg election in 1927 reported that national issues and per-

[51] *Die Wahlen im Bremischen Staatsgebiet* (Bremen, 1925), p. 29.

sonalities were prominent in the election.[52] Among the campaign devices used were political rallies, picturesque torchlight parades, posters, newspaper articles and advertisements, and handbills. The Social Democrats estimated that they distributed over three million handbills. While great efforts were made to arouse the indifferent voters, only a 74.2 per cent poll was achieved. A number of factors has compelled the German national parties to organize along local lines. The hardships of the post-war years have made municipal finance a matter of national concern; the local electorate is the same as the national electorate and the republican parties cannot carry out their national programs unless they enter into local politics. The Center and the Social Democratic parties have built up municipal organizations on a national scale. Proportional representation, the activity of the post-war parties in German cities, and the economic misfortunes of the period have brought the interest in municipal elections almost up to the level found in Reichstag and Landtag elections and to a level much higher than that found in British and American cities.

The study of pre-war and post-war election statistics in the German states brings to light some interesting facts regarding popular participation in elections. The interest shown in direct elections was always substantially greater than that shown in indirect elections. In an election system which gives unequal weight to the ballots of

[52] R. H. Wells, "The Hamburg Election," *National Muncipal Review,* XVII (1928), 15, and also his "Partisanship and Parties in German Municipal Government," *ibid.,* pp. 473–81.

different classes, the participation is greatest in the class having the most favored position. The advent of woman suffrage does not necessarily mean a marked decline in the ratio of those voting if the economic struggle is severe, the party rivalry is keen, and the system of representation is such as to encourage all parties. Participation is highest in the urban districts where the Social Democrats have been most active.

SWISS LOCAL ELECTIONS

In Switzerland, as in Germany, federalism has influenced the form of the government. The strength of local traditions in Switzerland makes the study of Swiss cantonal and municipal elections important. The cantons have been laboratories for such electoral experiments as proportional representation, compulsory voting, popular lawmaking, and the election of administrative councils.

Attention will first be centered upon popular participation in the election of the unicameral cantonal legislatures. In seventeen of the cantons these bodies are now elected for terms of three or four years by some system of proportional representation. Taking the country as a whole, there is not much variation in the size of the poll as between national and cantonal elections. Considering the fact that electoral arrangements in Switzerland are regulated by cantonal law and that the political parties are organized along cantonal lines, this similarity between national and cantonal elections is to be expected. The analysis of Swiss cantonal elections should therefore cor-

roborate the conclusions reached regarding Swiss national elections.

The canton of Urban Basel affords an excellent field for the study of the influence of such factors as proportional representation, social status, and party upon the size of the poll. It was in this canton that the principles of proportional representation now applied to national elections were worked out in 1905.[53] In the elections of 1896, 1897, and 1902 approximately one-half of the electors came out to vote, but in the elections since 1905 two-thirds or more of the electors have voted in all the elections except one which occurred during the Great War. In 1911 an elaborate statistical report was made on the elections to the cantonal council showing the influence of such factors as age and occupation upon the size of the poll.[54] Out of a total electorate of 21,656 there were 14,979, or 69.2 per cent, who voted in this year. Among the causes of non-voting discussed in the report were absence, sickness, and the inaccuracy of the lists of voters. The men between the ages of thirty-five and sixty-four showed the greatest interest in voting. Only 60 per cent of the voters under twenty-five years of age voted, and there was likewise a great falling-off in the voting interest of those over sixty-nine years of age. The small participation of the last group is accounted for by sickness, while the low poll of the young men is the result of indifference. Of the various occupational groups studied,

[53] Hoag and Hallett, *op. cit.*, p. 177.

[54] *Statistik der Grossratswahlen vom 6./7. Mai 1911 im Kanton Basel-Stadt.*

the highest voting record was attained by the teachers in the cantonal schools, 88.2 per cent of whom came to the polls. The other cantonal officials also showed considerable interest in voting (87.8 per cent). Of the groups engaged in private business, a high poll was found among the factory owners (80.9 per cent), the artists and professional men (75.0 per cent), the clergy (87.0 per cent), the master-workmen (79.1 per cent), and the employees and officials of the co-operatives (75.8 per cent). The least interest in voting was displayed by those without any special occupation (60.6 per cent) and by the unskilled workers (57.5 per cent). The participation of the skilled workers was near the average (68.8 per cent). Of the various wards or districts studied, the highest poll was in the ward where the Social Democratic party was the strongest. Since the war the polls in Urban Basel have exceeded the pre-war levels, partly because of the increased strength of the Socialist party. At the 1923 and 1926 elections the balance between the Socialist and bourgeois parties was a very even one.

The experience of the agricultural canton of Luzern with proportional representation is somewhat similar to that of urban Basel. Before 1909 the elections in this canton were conducted according to the majority system. In 1907 only 60 per cent of the registered vote was cast. The system of proportional representation which was adopted in 1909 resembled the Basel system only in its broad details.[55] The quota was obtained by dividing the

[55] *Ergebnis der Neuwahl des grossen Rates* (Luzern, 1909).

number of votes cast by the number of candidates to be elected from the district.[56] This makes a quota which is slightly larger than the one used in Basel elections. If any seats remain after division by this quota, they are assigned in turn to the lists having the largest remainders except that a list having an absolute majority receives the first seat. The first election under this system, which was held in 1911, brought out a 91.5 per cent poll. The next election was held in 1915 when conditions were abnormal on account of the Great War. The poll in the two post-war elections of 1919 and 1923 has been over 71 per cent. In Luzern the dominant party is the Catholic Conservative party, and the Socialists are relatively weak. The experience of the canton shows that a combination of proportional representation and a party system organized along religious lines tend to produce a high poll.

In the canton of Zürich opportunities are furnished to study the influence of compulsory voting, proportional representation, socialism, and agrarianism upon the size of the poll. A mild form of compulsory voting was adopted in Zürich in 1890. This system increased the general interest in voting but it did not cure non-voting. In May, 1914, when the cantonal council was still chosen according to the majority-bloc system, 72.2 per cent of the electorate voted. A system of proportional representation was adopted in 1916 which resembled the Urban Basel

[56] *Gesetz über Wahlen und Abstimmungen vom 31. Dezember 1918* (Luzern).

plan.[57] In 1917, 1920, and 1923 over 80 per cent of the electorate came to the polls.[58] This shows that, where the system of compulsory voting is not thoroughgoing, improvements in the representative system will have a marked effect upon participation in elections. The change in the electoral law encouraged the organization of a new Peasants' party. It is interesting to note that the election returns for 1917 show that the poll was higher in the purely agricultural districts than in the urban districts.[59] In 1926 a special study of popular interest in cantonal elections was made for the city of Zürich.[60] As in the Urban Basel study, it was clear that the middle-aged voters showed the greatest interest in voting. In addition, it was brought to light that political indifference was more common among non-natives than among natives. Of the various religious groups analyzed, the Protestants showed the highest voting records. The Catholics constitute such a small minority in the city of Zürich that they have no hope for gaining control of the government. The struggle is primarily between the parties of the left and the parties of the right.[61]

An analysis of the factors determining popular partici-

[57] *Gesetz vom 10. Dezember 1916* and *Vollziehungsverordnung über die Wahl des Kantonsrates vom 2. Februar 1917.*

[58] *Ergebnis der Erneurungswahl der Mitglieder des Kantonrates* (Zürich, 1917, 1920, 1923).

[59] *Statistik der Wahlen in den Kantonsrat vom 8. Juli 1917,* p. 6.

[60] A. Senti, "Die Nichtwähler in Zürich," *Zürcher Statistische Nachrichten,* No. 4 (1926), pp. 160–70.

[61] *Neue Zürcher Zeitung,* April 22, 1926.

pation in the election of the other cantonal legislatures brings out the same trends that have been found in the cantons of Urban Basel, Luzern, and Zürich. In Schaffhausen, Thurgau, and St. Gall compulsory voting has maintained an even higher record than was found in Zürich. The long experience of the cantons of Neuchâtel and Solothurn with proportional representation shows the sustained influence which an equitable system of representation has upon the size of the poll. The adoption of proportional representation in the canton of Bern for the election of the Great Council in 1922 raised the poll from an average of 39.1 per cent to 73.8 per cent of the electorate.[62] As in Zürich, the new régime brought with it the formation of a Peasants' party and an increased interest in politics among the farmers. In the canton of Geneva the participation in General Council elections is not quite as high as in some of the other cantons having proportional representation. However, at the 1923 elections two-thirds of the electorate took part. The existence of civic indifference in Geneva can be explained partly by the inferior character of the organization of the parties of the right[63] and by the presence in this canton of large numbers of naturalized citizens.

In all but two of the cantons there are elective administrative councils as well as elective legislatures. A study is available for Administrative Council elections in Urban

[62] *Ergebnisse der Grossratswahlen vom 14. Mai 1922 im Kanton Bern,* p. 7.

[63] *Journal de Genève,* October 29, 1919, and November 10, 1923.

Basel.[64] In this canton an Administrative Council of seven members is elected at large by the majority-bloc system every three years. In case seven candidates do not receive an absolute majority on the first balloting, there is a second balloting at which a plurality is sufficient. The participation in these elections varies considerably with the closeness of the contest. The first balloting coincides with the election of the Great Council and there is almost invariably a large poll. However, in 1923 about 14 per cent of the ballots cast for the administrative council were blank. The Communist party in protest against the election system directed its members to abstain from marking their ballots.[65] In the cantons of Zürich, Geneva, and Solothurn participation in administrative elections is likewise less than in legislative elections. Interest in the second balloting at administrative elections is usually very slight, especially if only one seat is involved. In Urban Basel it sometimes sinks to as low a level as 13 per cent of the electorate. It is thus apparent that administrative council elections in Switzerland are not as dramatic as gubernatorial or mayoralty elections in the United States. The Swiss parties work out a compromise slate for the administrative elections and this slate usually carries.

Most of the Swiss cantons are subdivided into a number of communes, each of which has its elective council. The interest in communal council elections in Switzerland

[64] H. Joneli and E. Wyss, "Statistik der baselstädtischen Regierungsratswahlen von 1875–1925," *Zeitschrift für schweizerische Statistik und Volkswirtschaft* (61. Jahr., 1925), Heft 2/3, pp. 249–65.

[65] *Basler Nachrichten,* April 26, 1926.

is usually less than in cantonal or national elections. The election of the municipal council in the city of Geneva brought out a mere 45 per cent of the voters in 1927.[66] In the city of Lausanne there was a 60 per cent poll at the municipal council elections of 1925, but this was less than the poll at the cantonal elections.[67] However, in the city of Bern there was a 78.9 per cent poll in 1927. This unusual poll, which surpassed cantonal records, grew out of an intense struggle between the Socialists and their opponents in the capital city.[68]

In the Landesgemeinde cantons of Switzerland (Uri, Glarus, Upper and Lower Unterwalden, and Appenzell Interior and Exterior) all electoral matters are handled directly by the annual popular assemblies. There are no intervening legislative bodies. All of the constitutions of these cantons contain provisions stating that participation in the Landesgemeinde is the duty of every qualified voter, but only the two Appenzells penalize unexcused non-attendance by a pecuniary fine. Usually three-fourths of the voters take part in the Landesgemeinde of the two Appenzells, whereas less than one-half of those qualified are in attendance at the meetings in the other cantons.[69] The experience of the Landesgemeinde cantons is another proof of the efficacy of a small pecuniary fine in getting people to take an interest in politics.

The analysis of Swiss cantonal legislative elections

[66] *Journal de Genève,* May 17, 1927.

[67] *Ibid.,* November 24, 1925.

[68] *Ibid.,* December 13, 1927.

[69] R. C. Brooks, *Government and Politics of Switzerland* (Yonkers, 1918), p. 380; see also *Journal de Genève,* April 26, 1926.

shows that proportional representation, compulsory voting, socialism, and agrarianism have had a stimulating effect upon the size of the poll. In cantons where detailed statistical studies have been made, it has been brought to light that age, place of birth, occupation, and religious affiliations are also factors related to interest in politics. The participation in the administrative council elections has been lower than in the cantonal legislative elections because the majority-bloc system used in the administrative council elections has discouraged voting. Participation in communal elections has usually been lower than in cantonal elections except where the Socialist party threatened to gain control.

CHAPTER VII

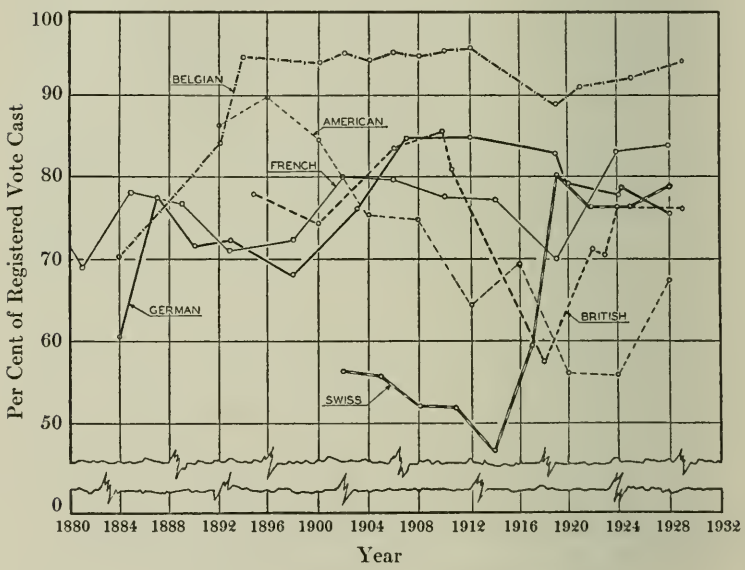
SUMMARY OF EUROPEAN EXPERIENCE

The official election returns for Great Britain, France, Germany, Belgium, and Switzerland since 1916 show that the eligible voters in each of these countries have shown more interest in voting than have the estimated eligibles in the United States during the same period. Except in Switzerland the pre–Great War percentages of the eligible vote cast at national elections did not fall below 68 per cent in any of these countries. Since the war none of the polls at national elections (Switzerland included) has fallen below 70 per cent, except in the case of one British election, and the highest polls have been over 76 per cent of the electorate in all the countries studied. The post-war participation in national elections has been generally higher than before the war in France and Switzerland; it has been about the same in Belgium; and it has been slightly inferior in Great Britain and Germany.

The accompanying chart shows the extent of popular participation in national legislative elections in the five countries studied and also an estimated proportion of eligible voters taking part in American presidential elections since 1892.[1] A comparison of the trends given for the different countries on this chart shows that there was a temporary drop in participation in national elections im-

[1] For method of computing trend in the United States see below, pp. 193–96 and Appendix III. The returns for Switzerland begin with the 1902 elections.

mediately following the Great War in Great Britain, France, and Belgium but not in Switzerland and Germany. In Switzerland the record poll of 1919 was largely the result of a new method of representation and the increased political activity of economic groups in the post-war pe-



Popular Participation in National Elections

riod. In Germany the high poll achieved in the same year was due to such factors as the far-reaching political changes wrought by the revolution, the menace of a proletarian dictatorship, the desire of different economic groups to protect themselves, and the hope that a democratic Germany would receive more lenient peace terms. In the Allied countries studied the percentage of the regis-

tered vote cast fell to a low point in 1918 and 1919 because of inaccuracies in the voting lists, the large number of soldiers still under arms, the temporary disorganization of the parties, and certain maladjustments in the government due to the post-war conditions. In Great Britain and Belgium suffrage changes tended to accentuate this tendency. The second post-war elections in Great Britain, Belgium, and France showed an increase in participation. The economic shocks of the reconstruction period turned the discontented elements in each of these countries to political methods. The parliamentary system of government used in these countries made the vote in national legislative elections one of the effective means of influencing governmental action. The returns seem to show that the voters of these countries had some faith in the efficacy of democratic devices to alleviate their social and economic difficulties. While in the less highly industrialized countries of Europe like Russia and Italy democracy and parliamentary government were spurned, in Great Britain, France, Germany, Belgium, and Switzerland the citizens still clung to their ballots, discussed issues, and passed upon candidates.

While the voting efficiency of the citizens in the countries studied was probably in large part the result of disturbed economic and social conditions, these very conditions brought the leaders to pay more attention to the mechanics of the voting process. The introduction of woman suffrage into Great Britain and Germany lowered slightly the ratio of the eligible vote cast in national elections, but not to the extent that it has in this country. In Germany the first trial of woman suffrage did not

greatly depress the poll, and partial statistics of later elections show that the sex differential is not large (6 per cent in the 1924 Reichstag election in certain districts). In Great Britain the high polls attained in 1924 and 1929 are proof of the fact that the details of handling a great mass of new voters have been well taken care of in this country.

The present study has included local as well as national elections. The extent of popular participation in local elections is a good indication of the voting efficiency of a given people as local elections do not have, as a rule, the same dramatic quality that national elections possess.

In Germany and Switzerland, where the federal system of government[2] has been in operation during the period under discussion, the participation in state elections has not differed greatly from that in national elections except where the state voting systems have been radically different from the national. In Bavaria the 1906 election law was closely modeled upon the national law, and under it 82 per cent of the registered voters went to the polls. The Bavarian and the national election laws of 1920 were also similar and the size of the vote cast under them practically the same. On the other hand, the pre-war Prussian law, which provided for indirect elections, open voting, and a three-class system of representation, discouraged voting upon the part of large numbers in the electorate. The post-war Prussian electoral system closely resembles the national system. The pre-war Prussian polls were less than one-third of the electorate while the

[2] There is some doubt as to whether the post-war German system is a true federal system of government.

post-war polls have been around 77 per cent of the electorate. The three-class system made it futile for the poor man to vote as his group could never hope to control a majority of the legislature. On the other hand, the large taxpayers were always sure that their interests would be taken care of and so it did not make much difference whether they voted or not. In Switzerland, before the adoption of proportional representation for the election of the National Council, there were higher polls in some of the cantonal elections than in national elections. At the present time, the cantons having electoral laws similar to the national law show about the same voting records.

In purely local elections the interest in voting varies roughly with the importance of the electoral unit except in Belgium where compulsory voting has kept up a high interest in local as well as in national elections. In Great Britain county elections do not bring out one-third of the voters that take part in parliamentary elections. In France provincial elections bring out 12–20 per cent less of the electorate than do national elections. However, the municipality is a much more important unit than the county or the province. The poll in French municipal elections is almost as high as in French national elections. The poll in German municipal elections is about 9 per cent less than in national elections. The poll in British municipal elections is about 20 per cent less than in national elections. Indifference toward municipal elections is counteracted in France by such factors as the close connection between communal and national politics, the large number of candidates, and the activity of the press and political clubs, while in Germany it is counteracted

by proportional representation, the pressure of economic groups, and the activities of the parties. In Great Britain the parties have not overcome the apathy toward local politics which an aristocratic tradition has nurtured for many years. In all of the countries studied national party lines are more sharply drawn in municipal politics than in this country. Where the Socialists, backed by the trade-unions and the co-operatives, have come within striking distance of a majority in a municipal council, the interest in voting of all groups is greatly intensified. The Socialists have schemes for government ownership, operation, and regulation of municipal services which present a challenge to the opposition.

The trial made of plural voting by Belgium and by some of the German states and cities shows that the granting of additional votes for property and educational qualifications increases interest in elections. The Saxony electoral law of 1909 and the Hamburg election law of 1906 providing for plural voting brought polls which have not been equaled before or since in these localities. Since the abolition of plural voting in Belgium there has been a very slight decline in the percentage of the eligible vote cast. How much the real decline is cannot be determined as the records under the system of plural voting give the number of votes but not the number of voters. A possible explanation of this phenomenon is that the systems of plural voting used were not so unfair as to discourage those with one vote while they gave a great incentive to those with additional votes to use them.

This study has established the fact that there is a distinct relationship between the system of representation

used and the size of the poll. An analysis of the elections held under the single-member-district system in Great Britain, France, and pre-war Germany showed that the proportion of the eligible vote cast varied directly with the closeness of the party struggle. In districts where the struggle was a close one the total poll was likely to be high and in districts where the struggle was uneven the poll was likely to be low. The failure of the majority or plurality system to recognize adequately minority candidates is undoubtedly the cause of this. In one-sided districts the voters favoring minority candidates become discouraged and the voters favoring the majority candidates tend to become careless. Theoretically a system of proportional representation should cure non-voting due to this cause. In Germany, since the adoption of the list system of proportional representation with a fixed quota, there has been less variation in the size of the poll as between different elections or as between different districts at the same election. The system of voting is such that every voter is made to feel that his vote will count toward the election of representatives of his party. It is true that the novelty of the system has now worn off and that its very stability has tended to lessen interest in voting, but the drop in the poll has been very slight. The experience of the Swiss bears out that of the Germans. The introduction in 1919 of a list system of proportional representation for national legislative elections in Switzerland made a 20 per cent increase in the size of the poll. Under the old majority system the citizens in the cantons where one party had a clear majority showed little interest in voting as compared with the rest of the country.

Under the new system these citizens seem to have acquired a more or less permanent interest in voting. An analysis of the effects of the introduction of proportional representation in Swiss Cantonal elections furnishes additional proof of the stimulating effect that this factor has upon voting.

There is no doubt that compulsory voting has had a sustained stimulating effect upon voting in Belgium and in the Swiss cantons where it is used. In Belgium it has maintained the highest voting records found in Europe, both in local and in national elections. At the present time Belgian women are allowed to vote in communal elections but not in provincial or national elections. Compulsory voting has been one of the factors helping these women to overcome indifference toward the first exercise of the franchise. The introduction of woman suffrage brought no appreciable decline in the ratio of voters taking part in communal elections. Compulsory voting has not been as successful in the Swiss cantons as in Belgium. The Swiss cantons having obligatory voting do not all have as carefully worked out electoral laws as the Belgian law. In addition, political conditions in the two countries are vastly different. However, the Swiss cantons with compulsory voting have distinctly superior voting records to those which do not (a difference of 30 per cent in 1911). Obligatory voting is effective not so much because of the small pecuniary fine imposed for non-voting as because of the moral and educational influence of the system. Voting is looked upon as a civic duty, and everything is done by the government to make the performance of this duty as easy as possible. Before each election

every voter is fully notified as to the time, place, and manner of the election. All this work is done by the government officials at public expense, so there is no need for precinct committeemen as in this country. There is no huge effort to get out the machine vote which involves enormous campaign funds. Elections are therefore less costly, more honest, and more representative.

In all of the European countries studied popular participation in elections since the Great War has been much superior to that in American post-war elections. This can only be partially attributed to such devices as proportional representation or compulsory voting as neither of them is used in Great Britain. However, there are certain common elements running through the election systems studied which make voting an easier task than it is in this country. Official registration for voting and the short ballot are among these elements.

In the European countries studied, a citizen who is entitled to vote does not, as a rule, have to make any effort to see that his name is on the list of eligible voters. The inconvenience of registering for voting in this country has caused many citizens to become non-voters. In Great Britain the town clerks send around canvassers once each year to see that all possible voters are put on the lists, and the party agents check up carefully on their work. In France, Germany, Belgium, and Switzerland the local officials check up at least once a year in order to see that the voters' lists are accurate and up to date. This is done on the basis of the continuous census records, which are very accurately kept in Europe on account of compulsory military service. The individual

voters do not have to re-register every year or two as do the voters in many American cities. In addition, there is less shifting of population than in the United States. Consequently, it is rare that these Europeans are deprived of the right to vote because their names are not found on the registers of voters.

In Europe the voter is not given an impossible task to perform on election day. He is not presented with a huge blanket ballot as are the voters in many of the American states. In Great Britain the voter is usually called upon to select one candidate from two or three nominations for the House of Commons and not more than three candidates from about twice or three times that number of nominations for the municipal council. In Great Britain national and local elections do not come on the same day as they do in many places in this country. In France, since the return to the single-member-district system in national legislative elections, the task of the voter is about the same as in Great Britain. In Germany, Belgium, and Switzerland a number of rival lists of candidates are presented at legislative elections. The voter may have to choose between as many as six or seven different lists, but this task is an easy one as compared with that of an American voter. In Germany the voter simply chooses between the various parties. He is given no opportunity to indicate his preference for individual candidates. In Belgium the voter may indicate his preference for a single candidate whose name appears on a party list, while in Switzerland the voter can make his own selection of candidates from the various party lists. In Switzerland there are many more elections than

in the other countries studied. The Swiss have shown the same indifference toward the election of minor officers that is manifested in the United States.

Even in the countries having convenient voting systems, it is apparent that environmental factors influence the size of the poll. In Germany, France, and Great Britain the voters in urban and industrial communities generally show more interest than those in agricultural communities. In the rugged parts of Great Britain where grazing is the principal industry the ratio of the eligible vote cast is distinctly lower than that in the mining communities and the industrial towns. The German statistics show the same general trend. On the other hand, the indifference of the London electorate shows that urban life is not always a stimulant to voting. The peculiarities of the British suffrage system and mobility of the London population account in part for this exception. The electorates of Paris and Berlin do not manifest a like indifference. Occupation is another factor that seems to affect interest in voting. Studies made in the German state of Saxony and the Swiss canton of Urban Basel indicate that employers of labor and persons in professional occupations show a greater interest in voting than employees, especially those in the unskilled class. Advanced education and a measure of economic responsibility seem to arouse a sense of political responsibility.[3]

Where the voting system remains unchanged and where the economic conditions appear to be fairly constant, there may be noticeable variations in popular participa-

[3] See my *Getting Out the Vote.*

tion in elections. These variations can be interpreted in terms of party issues and party organization.

The raising of a religious or an economic issue in a European election almost invariably results in a higher poll. In France and Germany where there have been some bitter religious struggles, many illustrations of this can be found. During periods of relative tranquillity in religious matters the French and German voters have come to the polls in fewer numbers than they have in the periods of struggle. In Great Britain, France, and Germany the raising of certain economic issues by workingmen's parties has increased interest in voting. Except in Great Britain the workingmen's parties have not come near to controlling a majority in the legislature. However, in certain electoral districts they have achieved a measure of success, and it is in these districts that the interest of the voters is usually the greatest. A parallel tendency has appeared in Switzerland where the recent development of a peasant's party has brought with it a higher poll in the districts where it is found.

While some of the peak elections in Europe can be explained in terms of stirring party issues, the surprising thing to note is that these peaks are not very far above the general level of interest in voting. A study of participation in British trade-union elections showed that there was an enormous variation in the size of the referendum vote depending upon the importance of the question voted upon. A bread-and-butter issue brought out a huge poll, while the election of a minor official brought out a mere 5 to 10 per cent. Popular participation in parliamentary elections maintained a much more even

level in all the countries studied. This was marked in pre-war Germany where the Reichstag was not the chief organ of government but the chief organ of protest. Every Reichstag election under the old Empire was used by some of the dissatisfied elements as a means of showing their discontent. Among such elements, the immediate issues at a given election were not matters of greatest importance.

The strength of the party organizations is obviously one of the important permanent factors which have kept up interest in voting in Europe. In all the countries studied the workingmen's parties have the direct or indirect aid of a huge trade-union bureaucracy, the co-operative movement, and other working-class organizations. The efficiency of the proletarian parties has driven the bourgeois parties to copy some of their methods. In Belgium all the three major parties have become huge trusts for such activities as insurance, education, marketing, production, and recreation. In Germany the social and economic functions of the parties have not been extended as far as in Belgium, but they are nevertheless considerable. In France the bourgeois parties have been slower to organize, but their close connection with economic and religious groups has given them a solid foundation. The multiple-party system found on the Continent is in itself an inducement to voting. When there are many parties in the field, the voter is more likely to find one to his liking than when there are only two. In Great Britain, where the old-line parties have cut across economic and class lines, the indifference of the voters and the lack of volunteer workers have been remedied by an elaborate profes-

sional organization. In each of the parliamentary constituencies there are party election agents who are paid salaries by their respective parties and who make the winning of elections their life-work. It is contrary to custom for them to seek public office or to expect favors from the government. It is their duty to keep constant watch over the voters, to send out party propaganda, and to follow the directions given to them from their headquarters. The central office of each party maintains an expert staff to supervise the general organization work of the party. On the Continent volunteer party workers are more important, but nevertheless the chief German parties now have paid party secretaries and some of the French parties are beginning to follow the British example.

In the task of political education, some of the European political parties have made a more intensive use of certain devices than we have in this country. Much more emphasis is placed upon the organization of youth movements. The leaders of the European socialist, religious, and reactionary parties start the process of training new recruits at a very early age. In this work they are aided by allied economic and social associations. The European party leaders also enjoy closer relations with the proprietors of newspapers. Making allowances for differences in the size of newspapers, much more space is devoted to political editorials in Europe than in America. The socialist and labor parties commonly possess their own newspapers and the conservative parties have the support of many wealthy newspaper owners. Finally, it should be noted that in Europe a more continuous use is

made of all the various types of party propaganda than in this country. Party meetings are held more regularly, circulars are distributed continuously, and party parades and demonstrations are not confined to the last stages of a campaign but are held frequently.

The high voting records achieved in the European countries studied are partly the result of well-drafted election laws, partly the product of the efficiency of the party organizations, and partly the result of social and economic conditions. Permanent official registration, the short ballot, list systems of proportional representation, and compulsory voting are all legal devices which have encouraged voting in Europe. However, it should not be assumed that these mechanical aids have furnished the motive force. They have made it easy for the voters who believed in their party's program or who had grievances to voice to express themselves. The vitality of the post-war issues, the presence of economic discontent, and the willingness of the people to try new political experiments have been important incentives to political action. The stand of the parties on such questions as national security, unemployment, inflation, the high cost of living, and other questions coming out of the reconstruction period has kept the interest of the voters at a high pitch. The party managers have taken care that this interest in politics resulted in action upon election day.

CHAPTER VIII

APPLICATIONS TO AMERICAN EXPERIENCE

What use can be made of European political experience in America? Can the voters in the United States be expected to form huge workingmen's parties and farmer parties? What are the possibilities of presenting vital political issues to the voters in this country? Are not social and economic conditions sufficiently different in this country so that European electoral practices would not thrive when transplanted? Can a substitute be found in this country for the economic discontent which has spurred European electors to the polls? These are all serious questions which must be borne in mind when considering the lessons which this country can learn from the elections in Europe. In the European countries studied the most important elections are the elections to the national legislature. In the United States the presidential elections overshadow the congressional elections. In our peculiar form of government the executive is independent of the legislature. The election of the president by a majority in the electoral college discourages the formation of minor parties. Consequently, the two-party tradition has been more deeply rooted in this country than it has in any European country, Great Britain included. There are few indications that a multiple-party system will grow up in this country as in the countries in Continental Europe. If the two major parties are going to continue to hold the support of the great mass of the voters in this

country, then it will be increasingly difficult for them to present vital political issues. The great divergence of economic and social interests in America does not permit the electorate to be divided neatly into two groups, each of which is like-minded on a number of important issues. It is obvious that the Democratic party was greatly embarrassed by the prohibition issue in 1928 because it contained within its ranks ardent drys as well as ardent wets. The presentation of vital issues is further complicated in the United States by the constitutional limitations imposed upon the lawmaking bodies. Amendments to the United States Constitution are made by a slow and cumbersome process which neither of the two major parties can hope to control. As in Germany and Switzerland, the United States has a federal system of government, but the American Congress is a much less powerful body than either the German Reichstag or the Swiss National Council. In the face of the wide divergencies between American and European conditions, it may be said that it will be difficult to apply voting lessons from abroad in this country. However, a partial examination of the available election returns in the United States shows that factors are operating here similar to those operating abroad. There are certain features of European election laws and certain European party practices which can be introduced into this country and which would materially increase popular participation in American elections.

In trying to ascertain the ratio of the eligible vote cast in an American national election, a great many difficulties are encountered. Shall the vote for the presidential elec-

tors or the vote for congressmen or for state officers be used as the basis of the total vote cast? It sometimes happens that the total vote cast for governor or for United States senator in a given state is higher than the total vote cast for presidential electors in that state.[1] What method shall be used to ascertain the size of the potential electorate? Suffrage qualifications in the United States are determined by the various states. Furthermore, the conduct of the elections is in the hands of the state authorities, none of whom makes a thorough and systematic attempt to list all of the eligible voters as do the authorities in the European countries studied. Registration for voting in the United States is largely a personal matter, and many American citizens are unable to vote in a given election because they have neglected to register.[2] Only a dozen or so states publish figures on the number of registered voters, and these figures fall far short of representing the number of eligible voters in those states. It is therefore impossible to obtain in the United States as in most European countries ready-made lists containing practically all of the eligible voters with totals for the entire country. All estimates as to the number of possible voters in the United States must be based upon the decennial federal census figures, which must be interpreted in the light of the suffrage qualifications of the various states.

[1] S. Michelet, *Election of 1928* (pamphlet, 1929), presents the estimates for some of the states. However, his figures for the total number of voters who went to the polls on November 6, 1928, are too high.

[2] See below, p. 203.

A number of estimates have been made as to the number of eligible voters in the United States within recent years, but for one reason or another these estimates are not strictly comparable to European election figures.[3] The author has therefore made some estimates of his own which are given below. It is admitted that these figures are only approximate but this is unavoidable. The estimates for the elections of 1900 and 1920 are the most accurate because federal censuses were taken in these two years. Interpolations and extrapolations were made for the other estimates.[4] The basis of each figure is the estimated number of citizens of voting age (males only before 1920). Allowance was then made for the states which at the time permitted aliens to vote if they had declared their intention of becoming citizens and for the states which permitted women to vote in the elections before 1920. In so far as the figures were available, subtractions were made for illiterates in states that had educational qualifications for voting and deductions were also made for the estimated number of prisoners, insane persons, and paupers. The adult Negroes (males only before 1920) in the ten southern states which virtually deprive the Negroes of the right to vote were not included in any of the totals. The disfranchisement of a particular race is an

[3] A. M. Schlesinger and E. M. Ericksson, "The Vanishing Voter," *New Republic*, XL, 162 ff.; S. A. Rice, *Quantitative Methods in Politics* (New York, 1928), pp. 243–47. None of these writers makes any allowance for lack of legal residence. Rice makes estimates for only twenty-one northern states in 1900 and 1920, both census years.

[4] See Appendix III for fuller explanation of methods used to arrive at estimates.

American situation which finds no counterpart in the European countries studied. For purposes of comparison it is therefore better to leave them out. Because of lack of data it was not possible to estimate the number of white citizens deprived of the right to vote by property and taxpaying qualifications. Finally, on the basis of a ratio furnished by two independent investigations allowance

TABLE XII

POPULAR PARTICIPATION IN PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS IN THE UNITED STATES, 1892–1928

Year	Estimated Eligibles	Vote Cast for Presidential Electors	Per Cent of Eligible Vote Cast
1892	13,970,000	12,043,603	86.2
1896	15,440,000	13,813,243	89.5
1900	16,500,000	13,964,518	84.6
1904	17,970,000	13,523,519	75.3
1908	19,890,000	14,887,133	74.8
1912	23,250,000	15,031,169	64.7
1916	26,630,000	18,528,743	69.6
1920	46,870,000	26,674,171	56.9
1924	51,310,000	29,022,261	56.6
1928	54,620,000	36,860,533	67.5

was made for the number disfranchised by lack of sufficient legal residence.[5]

The estimates in Table XII show that popular participation in American presidential elections has varied considerably from time to time, a condition not unlike that in Great Britain. The elections in which there was a marked increase in voting efficiency over the preceding election were those of 1896, 1916, and 1928. The high point reached in the election of 1896 was largely due to

[5] See Appendix III for a fuller description of methods used to make allowance for lack of legal residence.

the business depression, the intense feeling aroused by the gold-standard issue, the dramatic campaign carried on by the Democratic candidate, and the huge funds spent by the Republican party. In 1916 the record of the Wilson administration, the tenseness of the international situation, and bid of the reunited Republican party for power brought a relatively large number of voters to the polls. In 1928 the prohibition issue and the question as to whether a Catholic should be elected president of the United States were factors which accounted in great measure for the increase in popular interest in voting.[6]

In contrast with the situation found in the European countries visited, participation in American elections has been generally lower since the Great War than before. It is true that in the first trial of woman suffrage the record of voting interest in the United States was about the same as in Great Britain, but in later trials the British have left the Americans far behind. Woman suffrage accentuated a tendency toward lessened interest in politics which was already marked before 1914. In the nineties about as high a proportion of eligible voters came to the polls in American presidential elections as in British, French, and German parliamentary elections. The decline of political attention in the United States since 1896 can be explained on a number of different grounds. General prosperity has tended to keep many potential voters satisfied and inert. Politics now has to compete with motion pictures, the radio, the automobile, and travel for the in-

[6] W. F. Ogburn and N. S. Talbot, "A Measurement of the Factors in the Presidential Election of 1928," *Social Forces,* VIII (December, 1929), 175–83.

terest of the citizens. All of these new diversions of the machine age are found in greater quantities per person in America than in European countries. Associated with these factors has been the growing disparity between the strength of the two major parties in America. In the nineties the balance between the two major parties was a very close one. In other words, neither the Republican nor the Democratic party had a solid majority in the country at large and the swing of a few votes one way or other was a matter of great significance. Especially in the doubtful states great efforts were made by both parties to see that their fullest vote was cast. Since 1896 the balance between the two major parties has been much more uneven than it was before that date. Except in 1912 and 1916, the Republican party has polled a majority of the total vote cast at each election. In 1912 the Democrats won because of internal dissensions within the ranks of the Republican party. In 1916 Wilson won a great personal victory but it cannot be said that he won a real victory for his party.[7] The defection of the Progressive Republicans in 1916 did not mean the formation of a permanent Progressive Democratic alliance. The Republican supremacy since 1896 has gone hand in hand with the tendency on the part of the voters in this country to absent themselves on election day.[8] Until a new alignment among the voters occurs this factor will continue to dampen interest in politics.

[7] A. N. Holcombe, *The Political Parties of Today* (New York, 1924), p. 293.

[8] See my article, "The Voter Resigns," *New Republic,* October 21, 1925.

In comparing popular participation in American elections with that in European elections, it should also be recognized that at the present time non-voting is more prevalent in some sections of this country than it is in others. The adult citizens in the states of Indiana, Delaware, and West Virginia show about as much interest in elections as the registered voters in Great Britain, France, and Germany. The method of choosing presidential electors used in the United States discourages voting in those states where one party has a clear ascendancy, as that party is sure of securing all the electoral votes for that state. An analysis of the American presidential elections of 1920 and 1924 by states shows that the proportion of adult citizens that comes to the polls varies inversely with the strength of the winning party in that state. In other words, as the proportion of the vote received by the winning party in a given state approaches one-half, the greater is the per cent of the eligible vote cast in that state. Thus in South Carolina in 1924, 98 per cent of the total vote cast went to the winning party and 6 per cent of the adult citizens voted, whereas in West Virginia approximately 50 per cent of the vote cast went to the winning party and 74 per cent of the adult citizens voted.[9] The simple truth of the matter is that it does not make much difference how many of the qualified voters exercise their suffrage rights in the Solid South. The Democratic party managers regard the electoral votes of these states as their unassailable possession. The same

[9] Election figures were obtained from the *Daily News Almanac and Yearbook for 1925,* and the estimates for the number of adult citizens in each state were based upon the census figures.

thing may be said of the attitude of the Republican party managers in some of the northern states. In the state of Pennsylvania in 1924 the winning party polled over 65 per cent of the total vote cast and only 47 per cent of the adult citizens came to the polls. It may be said that the per cent of the total vote cast by the successful party is a crude measure of the element of uncertainty in the election. Where the impression is current that the result of the election in the state is practically certain, the managers of both parties in that state are apathetic and many of the voters stay at home on election day.[10] In Germany, where the president is chosen by a direct popular vote, over three-quarters of the eligible voters took part in the presidential election of April, 1925. If the Constitution of the United States were amended to provide for the direct popular election of the president,[11] more interest would be shown at once in the sure Republican and in the sure Democratic states. Under such a plan a Democratic vote in South Carolina would count just as much as a Democratic vote in West Virginia. The passage of such an amendment might bring with it a demand for a uniform federal suffrage law. The party managers in their search for votes might chafe under the suffrage restrictions found in many of the states. The amend-

[10] The coefficient of correlation for the per cent of the vote cast for the majority party and the per cent of the adult citizens voting in each state was —.42 in 1920.

[11] On this point see J. Hampden Dougherty, *The Electoral System of the United States* (New York, 1906); Representative Clarence F. Lea of California (Democrat) proposed in 1929 an amendment to substitute a merely mathematical system of electoral votes in place of the presidential electors. The small states would support such a system before they would a direct popular vote.

ment would also bring up the question of presidential nominating methods.[12] Some might question the desirability of such a general overhauling of our election machinery, but certainly the present method of choosing our chief executive can hardly be regarded as satisfactory.[13]

The method employed for electing national legislators in this country resembles that used in Great Britain at the present time, that used in France (except at the elections of 1888, 1919, and 1924), and that used in Germany prior to the Great War. It is the system under which each electoral district returns a single representative on the basis of a plurality or majority vote. As in the European countries studied, so in the United States this system tends to discourage voting in districts where one party has a clear ascendancy. In the First Congressional District of South Carolina, 92.6 per cent of the total vote cast was obtained by the winning candidate in 1920, and only 6.4 per cent of the adult citizens went to the polls.[14] This tendency is probably more accentu-

[12] L. Overacker, *The Presidential Primary* (New York, 1926).

[13] It is inadvisable here to go into an elaborate discussion of suffrage laws in the United States.

[14] The following table given on p. 379 of C. E. Merriam's and H. F. Gosnell's *The American Party System* (New York, 1929), shows this clearly:

CONGRESSIONAL ELECTIONS, 1920, DELAWARE, INDIANA, PENNSYLVANIA, SOUTH CAROLINA, WEST VIRGINIA

Per Cent of Votes Cast Which Were Received by Winning Candidates	Number of Votes Cast	Total Number of Adult Citizens	Percentage
50– 59.9	2,176,780	3,545,461	61.4
60– 69.9	405,787	811,770	50.0
70– 79.9	787,702	1,811,198	43.5
80– 89.9	179,364	568,518	31.6
90–100	65,737	774,966	8.5

ated at congressional elections which do not coincide with presidential elections. Thus, in 1922 the congressional elections all over the country brought out only 20,579,191 voters, or 81 per cent of the congressional vote in 1920. The introduction of a list system of proportional representation for the election of members of the House of Representatives would be bound to encourage popular participation in congressional elections in this country. The list systems, such as those used in Germany, Belgium, or Switzerland, give definite recognition to the various party organizations and encourage a full vote on the part of each of them. It is true that the Hare system of proportional representation has been tried in a number of American cities and that its introduction has not resulted in an increased poll.[15] Theoretically, the Hare system should encourage every voter to vote as it endeavors to make as many votes count toward the election of representatives as possible. In practice, it seems that the system confuses some of the timid voters and discourages the

[15] A study made by one of my students, Mr. H. G. Holcomb, showed that Hare-system elections sometimes show a decrease at first in the percentage of estimated number of adult citizens who vote. However, there is a tendency for the poll to rise at the second or third election. In Cincinnati the interest of the voters in the Hare-system elections has been just about as great as in mayoralty elections under the old plan. A councilmanic election can hardly be expected to be as dramatic as a mayoralty election. The city of Grand Rapids, Michigan, which does not have the Hare system but does have the city-manager plan, has shown a great slump in its voting record in recent years. See also J. P. Harris, "The Practical Workings of Proportional Representation in the United States and Canada," *National Municipal Review,* XIX (1930), 375–76.

old-line politicians in charge of the political organizations. However, the list systems of proportional representation do not have this tendency. If the German system of a uniform quota were adopted in this country, and applied by each state to the election of representatives it would do away with delays in reapportionment, attempts at gerrymandering, the failure to recognize minorities, and the indifference of large numbers of voters toward congressional elections. It might also have some effect upon the two-party system in this country, but it is not likely that it would result in the selection of a Congress which was out of accord with the popular majority behind the president. The uniform-quota system would make the House of Representatives an accurate reflection of popular alignments.[16] The states could be used as electoral units under such a system, the more populous states being divided into several districts.

A number of studies have been made in this country which show that one important cause of non-voting in this country is failure to register.[17] The most common type of registration system for voting in this country requires each voter to make personal application at periodic intervals. No matter how long he has lived at the same address he is usually required to reregister every

[16] Under this system the primary elections might be used to determine the order of the names of the candidates of a given party upon the ballot. It would probably not be necessary to make any constitutional changes in order to adopt such a system (see Hoag and Hallett, *op. cit.*, p. 320).

[17] Merriam and Gosnell, *Non-voting: Causes and Methods of Control* (Chicago, 1924); A. N. Holcombe, *State Government* (New York, 1926).

one or two years. An experiment conducted in the city of Chicago showed clearly that the registration law in Illinois is very defective.[18] A simple mail canvass enabled 10 per cent more of the adult citizens than usual to solve the complexities of this law. The experience of the foreign countries studied shows that it is possible to have complete and up-to-date lists of all eligible voters. It may be argued that a system of continuous official registration is contrary to American traditions. However, a close approximation of the British system is found in the police listing in Boston.[19] For purposes of checking the lists of voters and for purposes of levying the poll tax, the police in Boston make an annual house-to-house canvass of all the adult persons in the city. The assessors in Philadelphia and other cities make similar lists for purposes of taxation. These lists could be profitably used for a general mail canvass regarding registration, assuming that the system of personal registration now in vogue in this country were not changed. However, what is needed is a system of permanent registration with adequate safeguards in the form of accurate methods of identification of the voters. The system of registration now in operation in the city of Milwaukee has many features to commend it. As in European cities and such cities as Boston, Omaha, and Portland, registration in Milwaukee is permanent; a voter's name once on the list remains there until he dies or moves away. If a voter moves from one address to another, he can make a transfer of his

[18] See my *Getting Out the Vote* (Chicago, 1927).

[19] J. P. Harris, *Registration of Voters in the United States* (Washington, 1929).

registration by sending a written application for such transfer to the central office of the election commission. New voters may go to the central office to register any time during the year. In a larger city it would be an easy matter to establish branch offices for the general convenience of the outlying residents. The registration lists are kept up to date in Milwaukee by a police canvass of all the registered voters shortly before each election. This canvass, conducted by responsible officers of the law, serves to remove all the names improperly on the registration lists. On election day, voters are identified by means of their signatures. That such a system of permanent central registration would increase the proportion of adult citizens that are registered is beyond question. In the permanent registration cities such as Milwaukee, Denver, Portland (Oregon), and Topeka, a much higher proportion of the adult citizens was registered than in the cities with annual registration.[20]

Compulsory voting is undoubtedly a device that would furnish a partial substitute for the partisan vote-getter on election day. What are the possibilities of introducing some kind of compulsory voting in the United States similar to that used in Belgium and Switzerland?[21] In the first place, if voting were to be made obligatory, it would be necessary for the election officials to have lists of the names and addresses of all the eligible voters. Otherwise, the negligent citizens would simply fail to register.

[20] Figures are given in *ibid.*, p. 106.

[21] On this subject see W. T. Donaldson, *Compulsory Voting and Absent Voting with Bibliographies* (Columbus, 1914); *Massachusetts Constitutional Convention Bull. 24* (Boston, 1917); R. C. Brooks,

It might be necessary to make registration for voting an official rather than a personal matter. In the second place, it should be noted that the introduction of any such system as the Belgian system might meet with legal difficulties in this country. The Kansas City charter of 1889 had a provision to the effect that a poll tax of $2.50 should be levied upon every adult male resident, but exempted from payment of this tax all those who voted at the general election. In 1896 the Supreme Court of Missouri declared this provision of the charter unconstitutional on the ground that it was a discriminatory tax and an invasion of the citizen's "sovereign right of suffrage."[22] It is probable that the opinion of this court represents the prevailing legal sentiment in this country.[23] Lastly, the introduction of compulsory voting in the United States would be difficult because of the aversion of the American voters to the idea of restraint in such matters. In Belgium obligatory voting was introduced at the time that manhood suffrage was adopted and it did not greatly interfere with previously established electoral habits. Upon several occasions different sections of the American electorate have demonstrated their dislike of compulsory voting. The prescription of penalties of non-voting was made

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Political Parties and Electoral Problems (New York, 1923); P. Deeter, *Prize Essay on Compulsory Voting* (Philadelphia, 1902); W. A. Robson, "Compulsory Voting," *Political Science Quarterly,* XXXVIII (December, 1923), 569–77; A. L. Lowell, *Governments and Parties in Continental Europe* (Boston, 1897), p. 273; S. Spring, "The Voter Who Will Not Vote," *Harper's Magazine,* November, 1922.

[22] *Kansas City* v. *Whipple,* 126 Mo. 481.

[23] *Harvard Law Review,* X, 439–40.

permissive by a provision of the constitution of North Dakota adopted in 1898,[24] but the legislature of that state has not regarded the matter of sufficient popular interest to pass any law carrying the constitutional provision into effect. The Massachusetts Constitutional Convention which met in 1917 and 1918 framed a permissive proposal for compulsory voting which passed by a small majority. The legislature has taken no action on it. In 1920 the voters of the state of Oregon rejected a proposed constitutional amendment providing for compulsory voting by an overwhelming majority.[25] These incidents show that a tremendous amount of agitation would be necessary to change the stereotyped American view that voting is a voluntary function.

The impression should not be gained that the difficulties enumerated in the previous paragraph are insurmountable. The passage of the state and national prohibition amendments shows that in some matters the American electorate will countenance restraints which are unthinkable in some European countries. If the courts should interfere with the adoption of a system of compulsory voting, then the state and federal constitutions could be amended. The chief obstacle in the way of introducing the system is the antipathy of the voters themselves. Many Americans are not convinced that it would

[24] Art. II, sec. 127, amended November 8, 1898, reads in part: "And the legislature may prescribe penalties for failing, neglecting or refusing to vote at any general election."

[25] J. D. Barnett, "Compulsory Voting in Oregon," *American Political Science Review,* XV, 265–66.

be desirable to get out all the voters at all elections.[26] What the advocates of this point of view fail to see is that the character of the non-voters is not as important a factor as the method employed to get out the vote. Under a system of compulsory voting the ignorant citizens who now fail to vote would probably cast blank ballots. The real danger of the present system is that many electors are enticed to the polls by favors or promises of favors from precinct captains.[27] This is especially true at primary elections where the machine vote is likely to be a more potent factor than in general elections.[28] The great advantage of a system of obligatory voting is that the whole process of election is organized by the government. If the government should assume responsibility for seeing that the voters are informed regarding elections, this would not have to be done by the ward heelers, who are in politics for what they can get out of

[26] Donaldson (*op cit.*, p. 23) quotes the Ohio Legislative Reference Department, which came to the conclusion that compulsory voting was not desirable because a "much larger percentage of the non-voting electors are from the ignorant and vicious than from the intelligent and respectable classes of our citizenship." See also William B. Munro, "Is the Slacker Vote a Menace?" *National Municipal Review,* XVII (February, 1928), 80–86, and his *The Invisible Government* (New York, 1928), pp. 11 ff.

[27] A study of the work of precinct captains in Chicago is now being made by Sonya Forthal, research assistant of the Local Community Research Committee, University of Chicago.

[28] In the Chicago primary elections of 1924 and 1926, 60 per cent of the registered vote was cast in the First, Twentieth, and Twenty-seventh wards where the machine is strong and only 45 per cent in the Fifth, Forty-eighth, and Forty-ninth wards, all in good residential areas.

it for themselves. The fines and penalties under a system of compulsory voting are always a minor matter. The important feature of the system is that voting is regarded as a civic duty and the government does everything to impress upon the voters this point of view. A mild form of compulsory voting which might find immediate application in this country has been suggested by the Elections Committee of the National Municipal League.[29] This is cancellation of registration for failure to vote—a device which acts both as a spur to voting and a check upon frauds.[30] This device was embodied in the 1927 election law of the state of Wisconsin.

The study of European elections also showed that the fewer elections there are and the fewer elective positions there are to be filled at each election, the larger is the percentage of the eligible voters that perform their electoral duties. This is the old lesson of the need for a shorter ballot in many of the American states. An examination of the ballots used in the presidential election of 1924 shows that over 50 per cent of them contained twenty or more offices to be voted for, to say nothing of the propositions also presented. The 1920 election returns for Massachusetts, Kansas, and California reveal the fact that there was a considerable slump in the size of the vote for minor offices as compared with that for the leading offices. For example, in Kansas 35 per cent

[29] "A Model Registration System," *National Municipal Review*, XVI, 45–86.

[30] When this system is used to purge the lists of registered voters, it is also necessary to have an accurate method of identifying the voters at the polls, such as the use of the signature.

of those who voted for president did not vote for state printer. The burden placed upon the voters in Chicago in this same year was an unreasonable one. They were summoned to the polls upon six different days and called upon to exercise some seventy-five electoral choices. With a shorter ballot and the concentration of power in the hands of a few important elective officials, it is obvious that more voters would take part in elections in this country than at present.

In addition to the lessons to be learned from the study of European election laws and their administration, much can be learned in this country from the study of party methods in Europe. The limited nature of the natural resources in the European countries studied has compelled the citizens of these countries to look to the government for aid in social and economic enterprises. The acute problems of the post-war period have increased the number of governmental activities. The struggle of the parties to control and direct the governmental activities have been real battles and not sham battles like many of our elections. The fact that our natural resources are relatively larger at present than those of certain European countries and that there is less immediate need for governmental activity should not discourage planning for the future. The presence of more statesmen among those in political life would add to the importance of elections in this country as it has in Great Britain, France, and Germany.

The methods of campaigning used by European party leaders should be of interest to American citizens. The

European practice of using specially trained men to do the electoral work of the parties might be followed to some advantage in this country. It is true that it might be difficult to develop a tradition in this country that election managers should not run for office. However, it would be better for the party to pay its political workers established salaries than to have them obtain their rewards from the public treasury. There is no question that the appointment of political workers to government positions in this country has demoralized the administrative services. Another European party practice which deserves attention is the method of raising campaign funds by small individual subscriptions. This was employed by the Democratic party to make up a deficit incurred in connection with the presidential campaign of 1916. Finally, it should be noted that political issues in European elections are such that real interest is aroused in them. There is no lack of volunteer workers on election day. If the American parties were realigned on the basis of more definite issues, the voters' attention would be more directly challenged and elections would be more dramatic than they are at the present time.

In summing up the various lessons that can be learned from the way people vote in Europe, the following conclusions are reached:

First, the adoption of a constitutional amendment providing for direct popular election of president would increase the vote in one-party states in presidential elections.

Second, a law providing for the election of members

of the House of Representatives by a system of proportional representation would bring out a higher vote in congressional elections.

Third, a system of permanent central registration for voting with a periodic canvass of all adult citizens by responsible officers would stimulate voting at all elections.

Fourth, complete notification of all eligible electors regarding the details of registration and voting by the government and cancellation of registration for failure to vote would act as a spur to voting and would lessen the need for partisan vote-getters.

Fifth, the adoption of the short ballot by state constitutional amendments would eliminate some of the indifference to local elections in this country.

Sixth, the political parties in this country might put election management upon a professional salaried basis. This would result in more scientific election methods and in less political corruption.

Lastly, the American voters must be educated to demand a sharper formulation of party issues.

APPENDIX I

TABLES FOR NATIONAL ELECTIONS

TABLE XIII*

British Parliamentary Elections, 1918–29

	1918		1922		1923		1924		1929	
	Numbers	Per Cent	Numbers	Per Cent	Numbers	Per Cent	Numbers	Per Cent	Numbers	Per Cent
Coalition	5,005,382	27.4	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Unionist	.....	.....	5,300,965	27.7	5,325,467	27.1	7,610,251	36.8	8,260,243	29.0
Liberal	1,300,883	7.1	4,014,406	20.9	4,145,391	21.1	2,825,779	13.7	5,094,947	17.9
Labour	2,343,777	12.8	4,067,960	21.2	4,285,009	21.9	5,307,892	25.7	8,052,594	28.2
Others	1,855,830	10.1	390,235	2.0	195,969	1.0	153,644	0.8	286,333	1.0
Total votes cast	10,505,872	57.4	13,773,566	71.8	13,951,836	71.1	15,897,566	77.0	21,694,117	76.1
Non-voters	7,801,532	42.6	5,407,403	28.2	5,668,152	28.9	4,756,175	23.0	6,808,148	23.9
Total electorate in contested constituencies	18,307,404	100.0	19,180,969	100.0	19,619,988	100.0	20,653,741	100.0	28,502,265	100.0

* Corrections were made for the figures given in the *Constitutional Yearbook* (1930), pp. 289 ff.

TABLE XIV*

FRENCH PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS, 1928

(First Balloting)

	Numbers	Per Cent
Parti communiste (Communist party)	1,063,943	9.34
Parti socialiste (Socialist party)	1,698,084	14.9
Républicains socialistes (Republican socialists)	410,375	3.6
Parti radical et radical-socialiste (Radical-socialist)	1,655,427	14.53
Socialistes-Communistes (Communist socialists)	24,122	0.21
Socialistes-Indépendants (Independent socialists)	58,279	0.51
Républicains radicals et Républicains de gauche (Alliance Démocratique) (Democratic Alliance)	2,144,747	18.82
Conservateurs, Démocrates populaires, et Fédération Républicaine	2,160,244	18.96
Divers (others)	136,258	1.2
Bulletins nuls (void ballots)	196,602	1.72
Abstentions	1,847,679	16.21
Inscrits (total registered voters)	11,395,760	100.00

* G. Lachapelle, *Elections législatives, 22–29 avril 1928* (Paris, 1928).

TABLE XV *A**

GERMAN REICHSTAG ELECTIONS, 1884–1912

	1884		1887		1890		1893	
	Numbers	Per Cent	Numbers	Per Cent	Numbers	Per Cent	Numbers	Per Cent
Deutsch-Konservativ (German Conservatives)	861,063	9.2	1,147,200	11.8	895,103	8.8	1,038,353	9.8
Reichspartei (Imperial party)	387,687	4.1	736,389	7.5	482,314	4.8	438,435	4.1
National-liberal (National Liberals)	997,033	10.6	1,677,979	17.2	1,177,807	11.6	996,980	9.4
Fortschritt, Liberale (Progressive Liberals) Liberale Vereinigung (Liberal Union) Deutsch-Freisinnige (German Independents) Deutsch Volkspartei (German People's party)	1,092,895	11.6	1,061,922	10.9	1,307,485	12.9	1,091,677	10.3
Deutsche Reform-partei (German Reform party)	.....	.....	11,663	0.1	47,536	0.5	263,861	2.5
Bund der Landwirte, usw. (Union of Agrarians)	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	66,298	0.6
Wirtschaftliche Vereinigung (Industrial Union)	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Zentrum (Center party)	1,282,006	13.7	1,516,222	15.5	1,342,113	13.2	1,468,501	13.8

* Statistik des Deutschen Reichs, *Die Reichstagswahlen von 1912*, CCL, No. 3, Table II.

TABLE XV *A*—*Continued*

	1884		1887		1890		1893	
	Numbers	Per Cent	Numbers	Per Cent	Numbers	Per Cent	Numbers	Per Cent
Sozialdemokraten (Social Democrats)	549,990	5.9	763,128	7.8	1,427,296	14.1	1,786,738	16.8
Andere Parteien (Protestler, Polen usw.) (Other parties)	479,594	5.1	578,845	5.9	474,276	4.7	464,458	4.4
Wilde (Unbestimmt) (Independents)	12,689	0.1	47,590	0.5	74,610	0.7	58,672	0.6
Nichtwähler (Non-voters)	3,720,143	39.6	2,228,862	22.8	2,917,358	28.7	2,954,327	27.8
Total Wahlberechtigte	9,383,100	100.0	9,769,800	100.0	10,145,900	100.0	10,628,300	100.0

TABLE XV *A*—*Continued*

	1898		1903		1907		1912	
	Numbers	Per Cent	Numbers	Per Cent	Numbers	Per Cent	Numbers	Per Cent
Deutsch-Konservativ (German Conservatives)	859,222	7.5	948,448	7.6	1,060,209	7.9	1,126,270	7.8
Reichspartei (Imperial party)	343,642	3.0	333,404	2.7	471,863	3.5	367,156	2.6
National-liberal (National Liberals)	971,302	8.5	1,317,401	10.5	1,630,581	12.2	1,662,670	11.5
Fortschritt, Liberale (Progressive Liberals); Liberale Vereinigung (Liberal Union); Deutsch-Freisinnige (German Independents); Deutsch Volkspartei (German People's party)	862,524	7.5	872,653	7.0	1,233,933	9.2	1,497,041	10.4
Deutsche Reform-partei (German Reform party)	284,250	2.5	244,543	2.0	248,519	1.9	51,898	0.4
Bund der Landwirte, usw. (Union of Agrarians)	250,693	2.2	230,134	1.8	299,328	2.2	.....	.....
Wirtschaftliche Vereinigung (Industrial Union)	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	304,557	2.1
Zentrum (Center party)	1,455,139	12.7	1,875,273	15.0	2,179,743	16.3	1,996,848	13.8
Sozialdemokraten (Social Democrats)	2,107,076	18.4	3,010,771	24.0	3,259,029	24.4	4,250,399	29.4

TABLE XV *A*—*Continued*

	1898		1903		1907		1912	
	Numbers	Per Cent	Numbers	Per Cent	Numbers	Per Cent	Numbers	Per Cent
Andere Parteien (Protestler, Polen usw.) (Other parties)	512,362	4.5	595,808	4.8	670,911	5.0	829,103	5.7
Wilde (Unbestimmt) (Independents)	106,483	0.9	67,151	0.5	208,713	1.6	121,690	0.8
Niehtwähler (Non-voters)	3,688,407	32.2	3,035,614	24.2	2,090,071	15.6	2,234,768	15.5
Total Wahlberechtigte (total registered votes)	11,441,100	100.0	12,531,200	100.0	13,352,900	100.0	14,442,400	100.0

TABLE XV *B**

GERMAN REICHSTAG ELECTIONS, 1919–28

	1919		1920–22		MAY 4, 1924		DECEMBER 7, 1924		MAY 20, 1928	
	Numbers	Per Cent	Numbers	Per Cent	Numbers	Per Cent	Numbers	Per Cent	Numbers	Per Cent
Deutschnationale Volkspartei (German National People's party)	3,121,479	8.5	4,249,100	11.8	5,696,475	14.8	6,205,802	15.9	4,380,029	10.6
Nationalsoz. Freiheits Bewegung (German National Freedom Movement)	.....	.....	.....	.....	1,918,329	5.0	907,242	2.3	809,771	2.0
Deutsche Volkspartei (German People's party)	1,345,638	3.7	3,919,446	10.9	2,694,381	7.0	3,049,064	7.8	2,678,207	6.5
Zentrum (German Center party)	5,980,216	16.3	3,845,001	10.7	3,914,379	10.2	4,118,849	10.6	3,711,141	9.0
Deutsche demokratische Partei (German Democratic party)	5,641,825	15.3	2,333,741	6.5	1,655,129	4.3	1,919,829	4.9	1,504,148	3.6
Sozialdemokratische Partei (Social Democratic party)	11,509,048	31.3	6,104,398	17.0	6,008,905	15.7	7,881,041	20.2	9,151,059	22.2

* Statistik des Deutschen Reichs, *Die Wahlen zur verfassunggebenden Deutschen Nationalversammlung am 19. Januar 1919; Die Wahlen zum Reichstag am 6. Juni 1920; Die Wahlen zum Reichstag am 4. Mai 1924 und am 7. Dezember 1924.*

TABLE XV *B—Continued*

	1919		1920–22		May 4, 1924		December 7, 1924		May 20, 1928	
	Numbers	Per Cent	Numbers	Per Cent	Numbers	Per Cent	Numbers	Per Cent	Numbers	Per Cent
Kommunistische Partei (Communist party)	.....	.....	589,454	1.6	3,693,280	9.6	2,709,086	7.0	3,263,354	7.9
Christliche Volkspartei (Christian People's party)	.....	.....	65,300	0.2	.....	.....	.....	.....	581,500	1.2
Bayerische Volkspartei (Bavarian People's party)	.....	.....	1,173,300	3.3	946,648	2.5	1,134,035	2.9	945,304	2.3
Deutschsoziale Partei (German Social party)	.....	.....	.....	.....	333,427	0.9	159,115	0.4	.....	.....
Landbund (Land Union)	.....	.....	.....	.....	574,939	1.5	498,900	1.3	199,517	0.5
Deutsche Bauernpartei (German Peasants' party)	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	480,880	1.2
Wirtschaftspartei des Deutschen Mittelstandes (Economic party of German middle class)	275,100	0.7	218,600	0.6	693,606	1.8	1,005,405	2.6	1,395,684	3.4
Deutsch-Hannoversche Partei (German Hanoverian party)	77,200	0.2	319,100	0.9	319,792	0.8	263,174	0.7	195,400	0.5

TABLE XV *B*—*Continued*

	1919		1920–22		May 4, 1924		December 7, 1924		May 20, 1928	
	Numbers	Per Cent	Numbers	Per Cent	Numbers	Per Cent	Numbers	Per Cent	Numbers	Per Cent
Unabh. Sozialdemokrat. Partei (Independent Social Democratic party)	2,317,290	6.3	5,046,800	14.0	235,145	0.6	98,842	0.2	.....	.....
Andere Parteien (Other parties)	132,500	0.4	332,100	0.9	597,363	1.6	339,708	0.9	1,442,900	3.5
Nichtwähler (Non-voters)	6,366,156	17.3	7,753,434	21.6	9,095,702	23.7	8,697,232	22.3	10,084,666	24.4
Total Wahlberichtigte (total registered voters)	36,766,500	100.0	35,949,774	100.0	38,377,500	100.0	38,987,324	100.0	41,244,733	100.0

TABLE XVI*

BELGIAN NATIONAL ELECTIONS, 1921–29

	1921		1925		1929	
	Numbers	Per Cent	Numbers	Per Cent	Numbers	Per Cent
Catholics	758,080	34.5	799,264	34.2	789,914	31.6
Liberals	349,888	15.7	304,464	13.0	369,114	14.8
Socialists	674,204	30.3	820,148	35.1	803,347	32.2
Front party	54,941	2.5	79,705	3.4	132,567	5.3
Communists	.....	.....	34,149	1.5	43,237	1.7
Other parties	.....	.....	53,007	2.3	92,890	3.7
Total valid votes	1,847,113	83.0	2,090,737	89.5	2,230,069	89.3
Blank and nul	182,180	8.2	87,459	3.7	116,660	4.7
Non-voters	197,504	8.8	157,780	6.8	150,717	6.0
Total registered	2,226,797	100.0	2,335,976	100.0	2,497,446	100.0

* Figures furnished by A. Delcroix.

TABLE XVII*

Swiss General Council Elections, 1917–28; Strength of Parties and Number of Non-Voters

Parties	1917		1919		1922		1925		1928	
	Numbers	Per Cent	Numbers	Per Cent	Numbers	Per Cent	Numbers	Per Cent	Numbers	Per Cent
Katholisch-konservat. Partei.. (Catholic Conservative party)	76,817	8.4	156,702	16.4	153,836	15.6	155,467	15.6	172,516	16.5
Liberal-konservative Partei.... (Liberal Conservative party)	18,927	2.1	28,497	3.1	29,041	3.0	30,523	3.1	23,752	2.3
Freisinnig-demokratische Partei..... (Independent Democratic party)	208,330	22.8	215,566	22.7	208,144	21.2	206,485	20.7	220,135	21.1
Bauern- u. Bürgerpartei..... (Peasants' and Citizens' party)	4,758	0.5	114,537	12.1	118,382	12.1	113,512	11.4	126,961	12.2
Sozialpolitische Gruppe..... (Political-social group)	7,833	0.9	14,677	1.5	15,144	1.5	16,362	1.6	14,073	1.4
Evangelische Volkspartei..... (Evangelical People's party)	.....	.....	6,031	0.6	6,306	0.6	6,888	0.7	6,803	0.7
Sozialdemokratische Partei... (Social Democratic party)	116,615	12.8	175,292	18.5	170,974	17.4	192,208	19.2	220,141	21.1
Kommunistische Partei..... (Communist party)	.....	.....	.....	.....	13,441	1.4	14,837	1.5	14,818	1.4

* Schweizerische Statistische Mitteilungen, *Statistik der Nationalratswahlen, 1922, 1925, und 1928* (Bern, 1929). The total vote cast is slightly greater than the sum of the votes cast for the parties because some voters did not use all their votes.

TABLE XVII—*Continued*

Parties	1917		1919		1922		1925		1928	
	Numbers	Per Cent	Numbers	Per Cent	Numbers	Per Cent	Numbers	Per Cent	Numbers	Per Cent
Grütlianer	.....	.....	20,559	2.1	9,313	0.9	.....	.....	.....	.....
(Grütlianer) Other parties	84,847	9.3	15,342	1.6	9,823	1.0	7,397	0.7	5,408	0.5
Total valid votes	518,127	56.8	749,954	79.3	737,423	75.0	747,138	75.1	807,472	77.4
Blank ballots	30,085	3.2	4,750	0.5	7,422	0.8	10,381	1.0	8,308	0.8
Void ballots	.....	.....	5,896	0.6	6,014	0.6	7,075	0.7	6,609	0.6
Non-voters	364,828	40.0	185,671	19.6	232,379	23.6	230,957	23.2	221,434	21.2
Total number of registered voters	913,040	100.0	946,271	100.0	983,238	100.0	995,551	.....	1,043,823	100.0

APPENDIX II

LOCAL ELECTIONS

TABLE XVIII

POPULAR PARTICIPATION IN BRITISH MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS

Municipalities	1919			1920		
	Electors in Contested Districts	Total Vote Cast	Per Cent	Electors in Contested Districts	Total Vote Cast	Per Cent
London (county council)...	921,625	152,782	16.6	.....	.....	.....
Glasgow....	92,121	59,848	65.0	394,233	309,757	78.6
Manchester.	158,618	57,666	36.4	236,800	113,247	47.8
Sheffield....	172,078	57,629	33.5	141,384	66,209	46.8
Leeds.....	161,377	68,762	42.6	180,764	102,790	56.9
Bristol.....	120,949	40,123	33.2	128,847	56,435	43.8
Nottingham.	57,253	28,475	49.7	72,972	43,337	59.4
Portsmouth.	87,814	43,132	49.1	74,088	40,515	54.7
Newcastle...	82,944	30,175	36.4	80,579	40,378	50.1
Total...	1,854,779	538,592	29.0	1,309,667	772,668	59.0

Municipalities	1921			1922		
	Electors in Contested Districts	Total Vote Cast	Per Cent	Electors in Contested Districts	Total Vote Cast	Per Cent
London.....	.....	.....	.....	1,584,839	583,932	36.4
Glasgow....	385,706	242,935	63.0	322,951	216,938	67.2
Manchester.	276,626	142,013	51.3	205,763	111,061	54.0
Sheffield....	185,544	110,765	59.7	196,811	111,535	56.7
Leeds.....	178,981	90,988	50.8	180,628	92,258	51.1
Bristol.....	127,452	58,118	45.6	107,459	51,516	47.9
Nottingham.	50,596	25,610	50.6	73,989	39,648	53.6
Portsmouth.	68,416	32,109	46.9	70,311	37,786	53.7
Newcastle...	65,130	30,190	46.4	61,250	32,189	52.6
Total...	1,338,451	732,728	54.7	2,804,001	1,276,863	40.2

TABLE XVIII—*Continued*

Municipalities	1923			1924		
	Electors in Contested Districts	Total Vote Cast	Per Cent	Electors in Contested Districts	Total Vote Cast	Per Cent
London	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Glasgow	363,263	214,481	59.0	414,931	251,321	60.6
Manchester	237,461	123,637	52.1	233,481	126,607	54.2
Sheffield	191,221	104,216	54.5	189,082	92,993	49.2
Leeds	173,309	86,785	50.1	163,811	78,845	48.2
Bristol	128,513	60,360	47.0	132,880	64,447	48.5
Nottingham	61,125	34,005	55.6	95,767	49,844	52.1
Portsmouth	102,602	47,381	46.2	98,280	48,120	49.0
Newcastle	91,614	42,076	45.9	64,763	32,276	49.8
Accrington	35,755	14,142	39.6	.....	.....	.....
Ashton	21,924	9,993	45.6	.....	.....	.....
Barrow	28,093	21,414	76.2	.....	.....	.....
Burnley	42,339	24,358	57.5	.....	.....	.....
Huddersfield	52,023	30,352	58.3	.....	.....	.....
Brighton	30,314	10,954	36.1	.....	.....	.....
Oxford	.....	.....	.....	23,565	8,179	34.7
Dundee	48,906	24,417	49.9	.....	.....	.....
Stockport	.....	.....	.....	47,794	31,034	64.9
Total	1,700,076	890,647	52.6	1,464,354	783,666	53.5

Municipalities	1925		
	Electors in Contested Districts	Total Vote Cast	Per Cent
London (county council)	1,826,563	559,491	30.6
Glasgow	384,772	229,201	59.6
Nottingham	86,704	47,246	54.4
Total	2,298,039	835,938	36.4

TABLE XIX

Popular Participation in Departmental General Council Elections in France

Departments	1910			1913		
	Registered Voters	Total Vote Cast	Per Cent	Registered Voters	Total Vote Cast	Per Cent
Ain	54,620	27,476	50.3	49,891	29,252	58.6
Eure-et-Loire	40,566	24,297	59.9	39,526	23,465	59.4
Finistère	109,191	62,084	56.9	101,486	62,999	62.1
Haute-Savoie	42,966	21,170	49.3	41,571	22,269	53.6
Isère	83,492	43,259	51.8	85,637	50,069	58.5
Meuse	32,849	23,266	70.8	38,641	26,981	69.8
Oise	66,670	48,862	73.3	49,554	35,215	71.1
Pas-de-Calais	143,917	102,970	71.6	137,877	102,960	74.7
Vosges	116,231	72,741	62.6	110,362	72,052	65.3
Total	690,502	426,125	61.7	654,545	425,262	65.0

Departments	1919			1922		
	Registered Voters	Total Vote Cast	Per Cent	Registered Voters	Total Vote Cast	Per Cent
Ain	98,238	57,052	58.1	49,793	29,743	59.7
Aisne	131,468	68,771	52.3	62,066	44,199	71.2
Eure-et-Loire	75,863	42,916	56.6	35,242	22,994	65.2
Finistère	112,100	57,987	47.9	109,896	65,234	59.4
Gironde	.....	.....	.....	226,800	123,684	54.5
Haute-Savoie	79,288	44,016	55.5	39,017	22,960	58.9
Isère	163,035	84,685	51.9	75,315	42,648	56.6
Meuse	66,964	37,847	56.5	27,575	19,137	69.4
Oise	110,849	66,301	59.8	60,297	44,266	73.4
Pas-de-Calais	294,688	157,471	53.4	.....	.....	.....
Vosges	112,946	64,487	57.1	104,111	64,434	61.9
Total	1,245,439	681,533	54.7	790,112	479,299	60.7

TABLE XIX—*Continued*

Departments	1925		
	Registered Voters	Total Vote Cast	Per Cent
Ain	44,474	23,930	53.8
Aisne	67,452	46,083	68.3
Alps-Maritimes	38,204	21,572	56.5
Ardennes	36,880	24,989	67.8
Aube	31,024	20,592	66.4
Bouches-du-Rhône	111,525	63,093	56.6
Côte-d'Or	43,949	26,025	59.2
Creuse	41,621	23,000	55.3
Eure-et-Loire	35,644	22,580	63.4
Finistère	99,591	63,418	63.7
Gers	29,104	15,834	54.4
Gironde	237,149	109,604	46.2
Haute-Garonne	64,319	38,554	59.9
Haute-Savoie	36,372	19,728	54.2
Indre-et-Loire	40,296	20,110	49.9
Isère	85,330	39,782	46.6
Jura	30,218	16,763	55.5
Loire	107,137	55,797	52.1
Loire-Inférieure	92,759	49,787	53.7
Maine-et-Loire	66,820	44,265	66.2
Manche	55,940	33,596	60.1
Meuse	32,856	21,857	66.5
Nord	239,399	190,055	79.6
Oise	45,157	30,458	67.5
Pas-de-Calais	139,716	97,698	69.9
Puy-de-Dôme	71,342	43,831	61.4
Rhône	112,606	59,769	53.1
Seine-Inférieure	108,554	56,455	52.0
Seine-et-Marne	54,297	28,735	52.9
Seine-et-Oise	136,457	69,061	50.6
Var	36,227	15,278	42.2
Vosges	106,401	65,706	61.8
Total	2,478,820	1,458,005	58.8

TABLE XX

Popular Participation in French Communal Elections

City	1908			1912		
	Registered Voters	Total Vote Cast	Per Cent	Registered Voters	Total Vote Cast	Per Cent
Paris	591,824	458,598	77.4	594,456	433,476	72.9
Lyon	90,356	59,752	66.1	93,133	64,328	69.1
Bordeaux	58,932	34,411	58.4	62,958	37,673	59.8
Nantes	.....	.....	.....	43,357	29,167	67.3
Toulouse	44,140	30,535	69.2	44,113	30,405	68.9
Saint-Etienne	.....	.....	.....	41,945	26,110	62.2
Le Havre	.....	.....	.....	32,327	19,433	60.1
Rouen	23,269	18,266	78.5	24,185	17,819	73.7
Roubaix	26,610	23,885	89.8	28,120	25,020	89.0
Nancy	26,851	19,750	73.6	28,784	21,473	74.6
Toulon	.....	.....	.....	26,696	9,319	34.9
Rennes	.....	.....	.....	18,430	12,470	67.7
Chartres	5,455	4,189	76.8	5,886	4,141	70.4
Amiens	.....	.....	.....	26,370	17,783	67.4
Angers	.....	.....	.....	22,334	17,116	76.6
Dijon	.....	.....	.....	20,039	13,481	67.3
Montpellier	19,546	13,850	70.9	19,043	12,510	65.7
Versailles	.....	.....	.....	13,598	9,961	73.3
Grenoble	.....	.....	.....	17,700	11,375	64.3
Total	886,983	663,236	74.8	1,163,474	813,060	69.9

City	1919			1925		
	Registered Voters	Total Vote Cast	Per Cent	Registered Voters	Total Vote Cast	Per Cent
Paris	735,435	460,708	62.6	650,798	529,441	81.4
Marseille	.....	.....	.....	125,645	102,924	81.8
Lyon	108,487	65,339	60.2	111,554	89,688	80.4
Bordeaux	61,738	37,057	60.0	63,360	50,924	80.4
Lille	40,784	33,554	82.3	47,076	42,860	91.0
Nantes	43,265	24,049	55.6	47,381	37,636	79.5
Toulouse	44,430	29,920	67.3	47,726	36,904	77.3
Saint-Etienne	44,353	25,231	56.9	47,101	33,632	71.4
Strasbourg	30,272	18,657	61.6	40,185	31,313	77.9
Le Havre	37,188	21,707	58.4	40,266	28,860	71.7
Rouen	28,131	16,000	56.9	26,563	21,003	79.1
Roubaix	29,138	22,661	77.8	28,844	26,629	92.3
Nancy	27,183	13,588	50.0	27,296	21,829	80.0

TABLE XX—*Continued*

City	1919			1925		
	Registered Voters	Total Vote Cast	Per Cent	Registered Voters	Total Vote Cast	Per Cent
Toulon	28,847	11,670	40.5	21,845	15,017	68.8
Rennes	21,146	12,430	58.8	20,422	15,949	78.1
Chartres	5,640	3,328	59.0	5,291	4,445	84.0
Mulhouse	18,953	16,260	85.8	27,012	22,435	83.1
Amiens	25,729	12,254	47.6	24,490	20,005	81.7
Angers	21,920	11,959	54.6	20,709	16,384	79.1
Dijon	.....	.....	.....	20,039	15,944	79.6
Montpellier	19,052	10,683	56.1	18,721	14,145	75.6
Versailles	14,970	8,912	59.5	14,260	11,133	78.1
Grenoble	19,040	11,561	60.7	18,820	13,193	70.1
Total	1,405,701	867,528	61.7	1,495,404	1,202,293	80.3

TABLE XXI*

Popular Participation in Landtag Elections in Germany

State	Year	Registered Voters	Total Vote Cast	Per Cent
Prussia	1908	7,682,721	2,522,656	32.8
	1921	21,501,843	16,579,671	77.1
	1924	23,819,773	18,717,847	78.6
	1928	25,188,070	19,215,827	76.3
Bavaria	1905	1,193,808	582,078	52.0
	1907	1,065,281	806,659	72.9
	1912	1,877,570	972,773	81.9
	1920	4,065,456	3,045,793	74.9
	1924	4,279,507	3,070,879	71.8
	1928	4,607,846	3,413,921	74.1
Saxony	1920	2,940,404	2,072,339	70.5
	1929	3,478,968	2,727,671	78.4
Württemberg	1919	1,449,217	1,317,051	90.9
	1928	1,653,216	1,138,238	68.8
Baden	1925	1,439,235	779,500	54.2
Thüringen	1927	1,035,859	810,935	78.3
Hessen	1928	893,144	488,604	54.7
Mecklenburg-Schwerin	1929	422,238	316,387	74.9
Oldenburg	1928	334,961	234,731	70.1
Braunschweig	1927	336,058	279,142	83.1
Anhalt	1928	231,361	203,863	88.1
Lippe	1929	107,802	82,287	76.3
Mecklenburg-Strelitz	1928	67,635	51,539	76.2
Schaumburg-Lippe	1928	32,195	25,131	78.1

* *Statistisches Jahrbuch für das Deutsche Reich* (1929), pp. 486–87.

TABLE XXII*

POPULAR PARTICIPATION IN GERMAN MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS

City	Year	Registered Voters	Total Vote Cast	Per Cent
Berlin	1909	153,711	63,130	41.1
	1911	155,287	66,293	42.7
	1913	159,836	65,908	41.2
	1921	2,610,011	1,720,041	65.9
	1925	2,935,493	1,870,257	63.7
Hamburg	1910	77,241	72,728	94.2
	1919	622,417	503,293	80.9
	1921	716,623	505,235	81.2
	1924	767,216	504,057	65.7
	1928	876,371	691,966	79.0
Cologne	1907	58,112	24,766	42.6
	1909	80,610	42,169	52.3
	1911	90,961	52,522	57.7
	1913	97,259	49,858	51.3
	1915	127,662	8,286	6.5
	1917	127,662	10,995	8.6
	1919	400,507	202,312	50.5
	1924	473,453	276,507	58.4
Munich	1914	47,155	32,616	69.2
	1919	358,018	242,595	67.8
	1924	405,446	314,270	77.5
Leipzig	1910	46,065	34,486	74.9
	1912	48,487	28,174	58.1
	1917	49,529	20,367	41.1
	1919	428,237	280,338	65.5
	1921	422,803	340,214	80.5
	1924	457,059	349,134	76.4
Dresden	1909	46,015	32,328	70.3
	1911	49,860	38,251	76.6
	1913	54,665	42,274	77.3
	1919	351,845	194,136	55.2
	1921	414,678	274,290	66.1
	1923	434,841	294,663	67.8
Breslau	1910	47,832	47,429	99.2
	1912	63,289	46,683	73.8
	1914	60,306	12,193	20.2
	1916	70,788	6,652	9.4
	1919	350,738	211,127	60.2
	1924	377,749	296,029	78.4

* Figures obtained from municipalities.

TABLE XXII—*Continued*

City	Year	Registered Voters	Total Vote Cast	Per Cent
Hannover	1919	222,147	145,793	65.6
	1924	287,287	238,055	82.9
Frankfurt	1910	55,049	38,186	69.4
	1912	60,929	38,879	63.8
	1914	66,934	13,279	19.8
	1915	66,934	5,317	7.9
	1919	308,051	177,679	57.7
	1924	325,149	235,823	72.5
Nürnberg	1908	23,761	21,726	91.4
	1911	27,892	25,577	91.7
	1914	30,957	23,383	75.5
	1919	200,792	138,763	69.1
	1924	253,659	211,759	83.5
Dortmund	1919	173,000	94,593	54.7
	1924 (May)	192,000	145,370	75.7
	1924 (Dec.)	196,000	152,142	77.6
Magdeburg	1910	46,361	16,592	35.8
	1912	54,063	18,499	34.2
	1914	56,605	3,493	6.2
	1919	195,254	128,145	65.6
	1924	200,032	168,354	84.6
Bremen	1908	22,590	16,936	75.0
	1911	22,453	17,182	76.5
	1919	190,354	148,374	77.9
	1920	204,146	170,408	83.5
	1923	221,515	175,732	79.3
	1924	229,308	182,259	79.5
	1927	242,158	202,071	83.4
Stettin	1924	169,840	131,038	77.2
Lübeck	1929	87,047	74,863	86.0
Total	1919	6,221,017	4,039,039	64.9
	1924	7,479,333	5,196,633	69.5

TABLE XXIII*

POPULAR PARTICIPATION IN SWISS CANTONAL COUNCIL ELECTIONS

Canton	Year	Registered Voters	Total Vote Cast	Per Cent
Zürich	1914	112,196	81,226	72.4
	1917	124,920	103,324	82.7
	1920	135,200	108,857	80.5
	1923	141,031	113,837	80.7
Bern	1922	174,399	128,732	73.8
	1926	179,295	130,658	72.8
Luzern	1907	36,649	22,198	60.6
	1911	38,140	34,945	91.6
	1915	38,489	18,633	48.4
	1919	41,906	29,932	71.4
	1923	45,433	33,048	72.7
Solothurn	1912	27,608	25,325	91.7
	1917	31,229	26,767	85.7
	1921	32,960	29,385	89.2
	1925	35,896	31,456	87.6
(Urban) Basel	1908	20,009	12,834	64.1
	1911	21,656	14,979	69.2
	1915	22,984	15,687	68.3
	1917	26,589	15,237	57.3
	1920	29,786	22,702	76.2
	1923	32,336	27,595	85.3
(Rural) Basel	1923	21,033	16,068	76.4
Schaffhausen	1908	9,059	8,708	96.1
	1912	8,964	7,376	82.3
	1916	9,913	8,801	88.8
	1920	11,811	10,539	89.2
	1924	11,911	10,672	89.6
St. Gall	1912	64,578	58,456	90.5
	1915	66,054	46,978	71.1
	1918	64,593	55,749	86.3
	1921	66,795	59,349	88.9
	1924	68,702	58,998	85.9
Thurgau	1920	30,657	27,409	89.4
	1923	33,582	27,229	81.1
	1926	34,331	28,081	81.8

* Figures were obtained from cantonal officials.

TABLE XXIII—*Continued*

Canton	Year	Registered Voters	Total Vote Cast	Per Cent
Vaud	1925	59,201	41,324	69.8
Neuchâtel	1910	30,555	16,521	54.1
	1913	31,593	22,765	72.1
	1916	32,434	21,244	65.5
	1919	33,777	24,409	72.3
	1922	33,968	26,959	79.4
	1925	33,617	25,599	76.2
Geneva	1923	38,250	24,835	64.9

APPENDIX III

METHOD OF COMPUTING ESTIMATED NUMBER OF ELIGIBLE VOTERS IN THE UNITED STATES

The estimates for the number of eligible voters in 1900 and 1920 were based upon the census figures for the respective years. Thus, in 1900 the following three items were first added together: the number of adult male citizens in Continental United States; the number of male declarants in the twelve states which at that time permitted such persons to vote; and the adult female citizens in the four states having woman suffrage at that time. The following items were subtracted from this total: the number of adult male citizens in the territories of Continental United States; the number of adult male Negroes in the ten southern states which virtually deprived the Negro of the right to vote; the number of illiterates in those states having educational qualifications for voting (only white illiterates in those states which virtually deprived the Negroes of the vote), the number of people in prisons, in institutions for the mentally defective, and in poorhouses. An estimate was then made for those who lacked residential qualifications. According to a special census taken in Massachusetts in 1915, about 3 per cent of the adult citizen population failed to qualify as voters because of insufficient legal residence (see J. P. Gavit, *Americans by Choice*, p. 248). The figures given in *Non-Voting* by Merriam and Gosnell, page 34, furnish the basis for an estimate of the proportion of adult citizens disqualified by lack of residence in Chicago in 1923. This is also about 3 per cent. This ratio was applied to the remainder given above and a subtraction

made for the final estimate. Since no figures are available as to the number disqualified by the poll tax and other qualifications, no correction could be made for these factors.

The estimate for 1920 was calculated in a similar fashion, making due allowance for the suffrage qualifications of the various states at that time. The Nineteenth Amendment, which was passed in 1920, states that the right of citizens to vote shall not be abridged on account of sex, but it did not automatically and immediately give the right to vote to all adult female citizens. In Arkansas, Georgia, Mississippi, and South Carolina the registration requirements are such that the women could not qualify in time for the presidential election. Allowance for this fact was made in making the estimate.

The estimates for the non-census years before 1920 were based upon arithmetical interpolations. It was assumed that rate of increase of the estimated number of adult citizens between two census years was linear. It is needless to say that allowance was made for the suffrage qualifications in effect at each presidential year.

The estimates for 1924 and 1928 were based upon the census estimates of total population for the respective years. The ratio of the number of estimated eligible voters to the total population in 1920 in each state was multiplied by the estimated total population of each state in 1924 and 1928.

The figures for the total votes cast were taken from the *Statistical Abstract of the United States* (1924), page 141, and data compiled on the 1928 election by William Tyler Page, clerk of the House of Representatives.

My estimates for the number of eligible voters are a little lower than those given by A. M. Schlesinger and E. M. Eriksson in "The Vanishing Voter," *New Republic,* October 15, 1924, page 167. These authors make no allowance for resi-

dence qualifications. In comparing popular participation in British and American elections it is fairer to make some allowance for the number who lack legal residence. S. A. Rice, in his *Quantitative Methods in Politics,* page 246, gives an estimate of the number of eligible voters in twenty-one northern states in 1880, 1900, and 1920. He makes no allowance for lack-of-residence qualifications. His estimate of the per cent of the eligible vote cast in 1920 is about the same as mine, but his estimate for 1900 is a little lower than mine.

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